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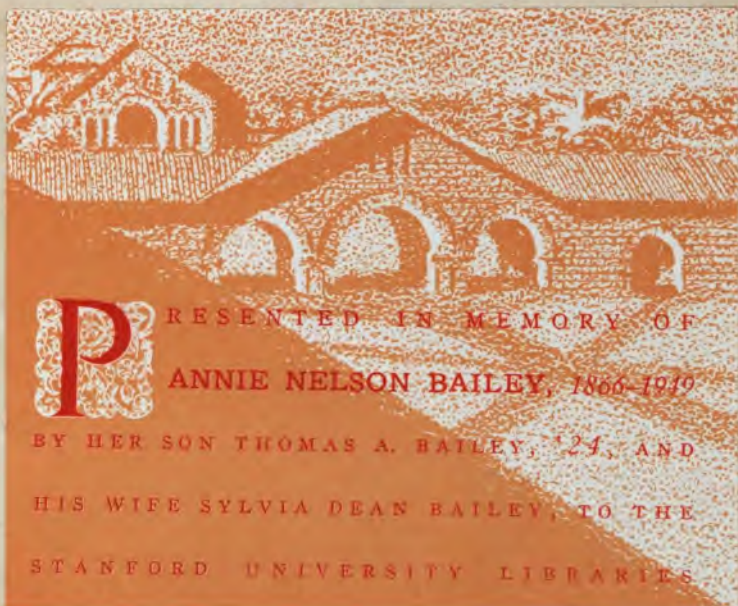
hg

[Peter Brown]

or

[Charles Edward
Lester]

H BC



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THE
FAME AND GLORY OF ENGLAND

VINDICATED,

BEING AN ANSWER TO

“THE GLORY AND SHAME OF ENGLAND.”

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.

BY LIBERTAS.

Some books are lies frae end to end,
And some great lies were never penn'd—
Even *ministers* they hae been kenn'd
In holy rapture
A rousing whid at times to tell,
And nall't wi' Scripture.—*Burns.*

NEW YORK & LONDON:
WILEY AND PUTNAM.

1842.

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INTRODUCTION.

OUR attention was first attracted to Mr. Lester's work, entitled "the Glory and Shame of England," by the extraordinary nature of that title. After a careful perusal of the work itself, our surprise was entirely removed. We have no doubt the author was seriously puzzled about the name under which his offspring should be ushered into the world.

The work consists of extracts from English publications, speeches of eminent individuals, alleged conversations with distinguished English authors, fabricated adventures, information and anecdotes long since given to the world, with misrepresentation and hatred of England, transparent in every page. He might have thrown twenty titles into a ballot box, and whichever he drew out, would have been just as suitable as that he has adopted.

Mr. Lester passed a few weeks in England, in 1840; and has ventured, on the faith of that visit, to palm on the world a tissue of the most impudent fabrications, that were ever published—relating as adventures which he

had in that country, circumstances which could not have occurred, and pillaging from other publications in a manner entirely his own.

It has been too common to make extracts from other works, without acknowledgment, but the author of "the Glory and Shame of England" has not been contented with the old mode of appropriation, but has introduced a new and improved system. He first creates certain personages, with whom he becomes acquainted, invests them with extraordinary memories, and makes them repeat to him, almost word for word, long passages from books already published. These passages are given as entirely new matter, and they form a considerable part of the book reviewed in the following pages. In order that this system may be rendered acceptable to his readers, the author never ceases to pour out the most gross abuse upon England and her institutions, and to laud the freedom, and proclaim the perfect happiness of the people of the United States.

The author has paid a poor compliment to his countrymen, in supposing that such a work would be acceptable to them—every well educated and liberal minded American, especially those who have visited England, must turn from his pages with disgust. But he has evidently addressed his work to that large class of the community, who know little of Britain, excepting from the public press, which is too much under the influence of those, who appear to think that they can best forward the interests of that party spirit, which covers the Union like a leprosy, by their unbounded abuse and misrepresentation of their Father-Land.

That he has not erred in his calculation, appears from the favor with which his work has been received, and the complimentary notices it has obtained, both from literary and religious publications. But there have been honorable exceptions to this rule, and it is evident, that the time has passed away, when works of unmeasured calumny and misstatement can be received with universal favor in this country. How much it is to be desired, that all who publish their observations on foreign countries, would take the calm and philosophic Combe for their guide, in the tone and temper of their remarks.

If we have not copied that model, in dealing with the work in question, the blame must rest with him, who has made an attack on England, in which truth and decorum are entirely set aside.

Our first object was to expose the mode in which Mr. Lester's book had been got up, and the numerous misstatements, and unwarrantable inferences it contains respecting England, and her institutions. But in the course of our examination, we have been led into the discussion of a variety of important subjects, which are prominently brought forward, or alluded to in that work. We have not confined our remarks on the English Corn Laws, Poor Laws, British and American Tariffs, Taxation, Education, Church and State, Slavery, and other interesting questions, to a mere answer to the loose and calumnious statements of that work, but endeavored to give such views of these questions, as we trust, may be read with interest by those who have not seen Mr. Lester's book.

In reversing the low position, on which he has placed Britain and her institutions, and the high elevation he has assigned to the United States, we conceive that we have done no more than justice requires, and which, we feel assured, impartial history will award to the two countries, when the transactions of the present generation shall be placed on record.

The important statistical information in the following work, has been drawn from the most authentic sources, and much care has been bestowed to make no deductions from the facts contained in them, but such as are consistent with the most strict limits of truth, or probability. We hope that there will be found in that part of the work, much to arrest the attention, and excites the interest of the Merchant and Politician.

The author will think his time well bestowed, if he shall succeed in showing the impossibility of such works as "the Glory and Shame of England" being published without risk of detection and exposure, or in throwing any additional light on those questions which are now agitating the public on both sides of the Atlantic.

LIBERTAS.

MARCH, 1842

FAME AND GLORY OF ENGLAND

VINDICATED.

CHAPTER I

THE first volume of Mr. Lester's work consists of eight Letters; five of them dated from London, one from Chelmsford, one from Liverpool, all addressed to anonymous Correspondents, and one from Manchester, addressed to Rev. Dr. Channing.

The second volume contains seven Letters. The first is from London, dated July, 1840, addressed to Washington Irving, Esq.; the second from Utica, Sept. 1841, to Hon. J. C. Calhoun; the third anonymous address and without date; the fourth to Fitz Green Halleck, Esq., dated July, 1840; the fifth is dated London, 1840, to ——— Esq., New York; the sixth to Hon. John Quincy Adams, dated London, 1840; and the seventh from Utica, addressed to Hon. John C. Spencer, without date. It will be observed, that there is here no continuity of dates, and that the order of the letters is as loose and wandering, as the matter they contain. We cannot therefore take up the examination of

them in direct course, as the same topics are frequently to be found in all the letters. We begin with

OUR AUTHOR'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

Mr. Lester, from his own account, reaches England in May, 1840. It is said he was one of the deputation from the United States to the World's Convention, held in London, in June, 1840.

The author informs us that he was present at some of the meetings of that body, and gives some account of their proceedings, but he does not say in what capacity he attended. But however this may be, it is evident, from almost every page of his work, that the object of his journey was to make out a case of gross oppression, by the British Government, and deep degradation, and misery of the people, in order to show to the gaze of an admiring world, the free institutions, and perfect happiness of the people of the United States. American Slavery is seldom introduced, and when it is, our author employs language so guarded and submissive, as might serve as a model for an experienced courtier.

Fully imbued with the most patriotic views, our new Knight of La Mancha sets off in quest of adventures, and on his landing at Liverpool, meets with a blind woman, begging—"her only covering a tattered *skirt*, and a ragged handkerchief thrown over her shoulders, and an old straw bonnet tied over her head with a *coarse string*." Now he might meet with a blind

beggar woman in Liverpool, in London, in New York, or Philadelphia, but that he met any person so dressed, in Liverpool, cannot be true.

He had heard "so much about the profession of begging, that he determined to examine the case himself." This was a wise resolution, as nothing can be more improper, than to bestow without examination, money, which may thus be given to the shameless impostor, but which might have been far better bestowed on the quiet and submissive sufferer. But what does our author do? He has a few minutes' conversation with the person applying for relief. He calls that an examination, and down goes complaint number *one*, against Britain, and a feeling eulogium on himself, as having the "blessing of one ready to perish" on his head.

The next adventure is with a very pretty, but pale faced girl, who offers him a *companion*. Our Rev. author, (we draw from the preface of his work that he is entitled to that address) very naturally asks, whether it is a gentleman, or a lady, when the pretty pale-faced girl replies, with a smile, that it is a companion "more intelligent than a gentleman, and less troublesome than a lady." Having delivered this speech, which must have struck our author as no unfavorable specimen of the talents of the country he was visiting, she proceeds to offer him a book, called "the Railway Companion." But after all, this speech may have been learnt *off the book*, as we shall show is customary with our author's speeches, and those of his friends. Be this as it may,

the Rev. gentleman was "interested in the girl's appearance," and finds this case number *two*. "She was in poor health," and besides was pretty, and pale faced, which must have reminded him of the characteristics of domestic beauty. So he goes on to question her, confining his inquiries, as in the former case to the party herself alone. But here he appears to have caught a tartar, for the pale faced girl proceeds to tell him, that she has a brother in America, that she thinks a deal of the 4th of July," "and that there is no such country in the world as America," and that she should think "that her brother liked it better than his own." Our author is not contented with these hints, but asks, "pray how did you know that I was an American?" and she replies, "well Sir, I can hardly tell you," (no wonder) "but there is *something* about an American gentleman, that strikes me the first moment I see him." Now this was really too severe of the pale faced girl—we know many American gentlemen, who dislike the unpolite practice of chewing tobacco, (which was no doubt the thing she felt delicacy in mentioning) as much as any gentleman in England, and we rejoice to observe, that the disgusting practice is every day declining in America. Our traveller goes on notwithstanding, with his inquiries, and the girl informs him that her mother was ill of "*the* consumption," a phrase never used but in America.

He then, on being informed that the girl had resided some time in Bristol, asks "if she had ever heard

Robert Hall preach." Now that celebrated preacher, and excellent man died, in 1831, and supposing the pale faced girl to be fourteen or fifteen, what could a child of five or six tell about Robert Hall's sermons? But our author, determined she should be a character, makes her reply, that she not only remembers Robert Hall, but that he often used to drink tea at her mother's house, and always had in his pockets "something good for us."

Our author here commences a course, which he follows up throughout his whole work, of making extracts from published works, and making these extracts to be delivered to him in conversation with people, whom he professes to have met with in England. This we will make apparent as our work advances. In Mr. Hall's biography, page 67, it is stated, that in the early part of his ministry, "he used occasionally to take tea with the poorer members of his congregation when he resided at Cambridge and Leicester; on which occasions he used to take tea and sugar in his pocket, and leave whatever was not used behind him." On this statement doubtless, has this story been founded. Mr. Hall was twice minister at Bristol, first, from 1784 to 1790, when the pale faced girl could scarcely have received a visit from him, and second, from 1827 to 1831, when he died. During this last period, his biographer informs us, page 192, "that he was not able to visit the poorer members of his flock, as he used to do, at their own habitations,

when at Cambridge and Leicester." But the truth of the story was of no consequence, so as it would form a little episode, in the tale of England's distress.

We might dismiss the pale faced girl here, but there is a statement put into her mouth, by the Rev. author, which we cannot overlook. In page 19, we are informed "that she and her family would be pretty comfortable, but for their being obliged to pay the surgeon so much for cutting off Charles's arms." This is a little brother, who had been so injured at a factory, as to render it necessary to have his arms cut off. When we read thus far, we began to doubt whether the author had ever been in England; and if we had not been in possession of better evidence than his own, we should certainly have concluded that he had never been there. It is so monstrous to suppose, that if such circumstances had occurred, the proprietors of the factory would not pay all expenses attending so distressing an accident, when it is notorious that this is uniformly done, and that in most cases, permanent relief is given to the unfortunate sufferers. But if any proprietor could even be found, so forgetful of what was due to justice and humanity, there are abundance of humane surgeons, who would at once interpose their skill gratuitously on such an occasion, and hospitals in every considerable town and city, where such cases receive the most prompt and skilful attention, without fee or reward. Every inhabitant of Britian knows this to be the fact, and so must every American traveller, who is at the

pains to examine the institutions of the country. To them we confidently appeal for the correctness of our statement. The ignorant only can be imposed upon, by this bare faced libel on the country, and on the honorable and useful profession alluded to. We repeat, that there is not a town in Great Britain, where gratis medical and surgical attendance, as well as gratis medicine, cannot at once be procured.

The pale faced girl still farther gratifies our author by stating, that "there are thousands in England who have nothing but what they get by begging," and that "many go naked and hungry." Why, this girl is quite a philosopher. How fortunate our author is in his acquaintances. They seem to know by intuition what will please him. If there are such people as this girl represents, it is their own choice to remain beggars, as the law provides support for all unable to maintain themselves. This the girl admits, but she very properly dislikes the work-house;—no wonder; having hobnobbed at tea parties with Robert Hall, her taste must be somewhat elevated.

We now leave this part of the "Shame of England" to introduce a new character, expressing our unqualified conviction that the whole story of the pale-faced girl is a tissue of falsehoods; the honor of which may be divided between her and the author.

THE IRISH NOBLEMAN.

We are informed by our author, (page 20,) that after he had received his book, "the girl turned away to seek another customer;" and that "an accomplished and fine-looking man, of youthful appearance, who had been seated near us, and overheard our conversation, called her back, and gave her a sovereign for one of her books." Now, we can understand how a fine looking man can be at once discerned; but how an *accomplished man* can be known, before he opens his mouth, is beyond our comprehension. But, patience! the discernment of our author is not at fault, although he had determined "to contemplate the society and institutions of England with the eyes of a Republican." (page 47.) He knows a nobleman intuitively; and who does the new comer turn out to be, but an Irish nobleman, a real genuine live nobleman. Commend us to a republican, for at once finding out a man of rank. On his lordship's polite introduction of himself, our author at once accepts the offer of *another companion* for his journey to London, and expresses "his satisfaction at riding with him, no less as an Irishman than a nobleman."

Now this, though a very clumsy, was a very complimentary speech. We would seriously recommend that Congress, or the State Legislatures, should look after those stray republicans. The few weeks of Mr.

Lester's stay have evidently not injured *his* principles. But if men of weaker minds are to be allowed to travel in such dangerous places, some gag-law (which they know well how to manage in the United States) should be passed, restraining these men from liberty of speech when they meet with fascinating noblemen. Why should the salutary rule of restraint of speech be monopolized by those who sit in high places, when it might be made so generally useful, and afford, in all places, such a judicious and delightful commentary on "the free institutions of the New World?"

But we shall see whether our author maintains the accomplished character of his nobleman in the narrative. He begins by saying, "Your Republicanism I do respect, *after all.*" After all what? Is it possible he had begun already to annoy his lordship in the way so waggishly alluded to, by the pale-faced girl? If such was the case, his lordship's good humor must have soon returned, as he is represented as giving much information about the curiosities and antiquities of the country through which they were now passing, on their way to Birmingham.

Twelve pages are occupied with a speech of his lordship about gambling in Crockford's, and other houses in London, *all of which, we think, we have seen somewhere before.* Here it is; and we earnestly request the reader's attention to what follows. Our traveller, after having received these twelve pages of a speech, asks permission, on parting with "his

noble fellow traveller," (page 46,) "to make the conversation public, suppressing all the names of parties, when it was necessary;" and informs us that this permission "was cheerfully given." Now what shall be thought of the matchless assurance of the man who can pass to the world as recent information, from an Irish nobleman, statements which, in almost every particular, have, years ago, been laid before the American public? Yet so it is.

In Mr. Foster's Cabinet Miscellany, published in New York, in 1837, is a work originally published in London, entitled, the "Great Metropolis," believed to be by Mr. Grant, of that city. The whole of his lordship's speech, excepting a few things, which have been most likely taken from some other work, is to be found in the "Metropolis;" some change being, of course, made in the language, in order to conceal the deception. We give some specimens from both works, which our readers will compare.

IRISH NOBLEMAN.

In page 25, our author's Nobleman says, "There is a vast number of gaming houses in London, but the chief of all is Crockford's; it is probably the most extensive gaming establishment in the world; it is supposed, that the household furniture cost £100,000."

METROPOLIS.

The Metropolis (page 80,) says, "Crockford's is the largest gaming establishment in this metropolis, perhaps in the world. It was built at the enormous expense of £60,000, while the furnishing of it cost £35,000, making altogether a sum, not much short of £100,000."

IRISH NOBLEMAN.

The Nobleman, in speaking of Crockford's entertainments, p. 26, says, "A superb dinner, and liberal supply of choice wines, will often inspire a disposition for gambling, when it did not exist before."

Page 26—"Crockford's wine cellar, which is the great agent that insures the success of the house, is 300 feet long, and filled with the choicest wines and liquors in the world; it contains 300,000 bottles and innumerable casks."

Page 27—"Crockford's cook, the celebrated Monsieur —, I forget his name," (*cunning little Isaac*), "has a salary of one thousand guineas."

Page 27—In speaking of the gaming at the hazard table. "Crockford's delicious wines once more sparkle on the table afresh, and the game once more goes on; an immense stake is laid, exceeding the aggregate of all that had gone before; the throw

METROPOLIS.

The Metropolis says, "A superb supper, with a liberal supply of the choicest wines which London can afford, often inspire a disposition to gamble, when nothing else will."

Page 83—"The wines are of the choicest sort;" and again, "the number of bottles which I saw shelved before me, independent of innumerable hogsheads, was 300,000."

Page 83—"Crockford's cook is the celebrated Monsieur Ude. His salary is a thousand guineas per annum."

Page 85—In speaking of the hazard table: "The stakes are unusually high. He loses perhaps a fourth part of his fortune in less than an hour; he tables another fourth—he loses again. He becomes desperate. In the delirium or madness (for that

IRISH NOBLEMAN.

is made—he loses it! He now feels that unless he can recover himself by one fortunate throw, he is a ruined man; and in the random of desperation, he resolves to make or mar his fortune forever. ‘He stakes his all.’ The next cast of the dice makes the young nobleman a beggar.”

Page 29—Not many years ago, Lord ——, paid down on his coming of age, for debts of honor contracted at Crockford’s, before he was twenty-one years old, the enormous sum of £100,000.

Page 29—“Lord ——, the grandson of an aged and venerable Earl, lost £30,000 in one night.”

Page 29—“It is well known that the Marquis of H——, has at different times, won over a million and a half sterling, and spent the greater part of it in dissipation.”

METROPOLIS.

is the proper word) of the moment, he determines on staking his all on one throw. The dice turn up. All is lost. He, who a few hours before was a rich man, is now a beggar.”

Page 83—Some years ago, a noble lord paid down £100,000 on his coming of age, for debts of honor he had contracted at Crockford’s.”

Page 86—“It is only three years ago, since a noble lord, the grandson of an aged and noble earl, lost £30,000 in one night.”

Page 86—“It is said that one nobleman, has from first to last, in the course of his life, won upwards of £1,500,000; how it has been spent, for it is understood to have been for the most part spent, is pretty generally known to the public.”

IRISH NOBLEMAN.

Page 29—"If a gentleman whose estate is sufficiently large, offers to play for a stake of £100,000, at Crockford's, he is instantly accepted."

Page 33—Crockford was once a small fishmonger in Temple bar, as ignorant as he was low."

Page 33—"He purchased a small share in a gambling bank; afterwards he engaged in a large establishment, which cleared in one season, £200,000; loaded dice, and other means of foul play, which were afterwards found in that place by the magistrates, insured their success."

Page 33—"He (Crockford) is still an exceedingly illiterate fellow, and speaks in the style of a hackney coachman."

METROPOLIS.

Page 87—"Let any nobleman or gentleman whose fortune is sufficiently large, offer to play for a stake of £100,000, and he is accepted by Crockford in a moment."

Page 92—In speaking of Crockford: "He was originally a small fishmonger, without a penny in the world, in the neighborhood of Templebar."

Page 93—"Crockford purchased for £100, the fourth share of a gambling bank, at No. 5 King street, St. James."

Page 94—"In one season, according to the statement of a gentleman who lost to a very considerable amount the proprietors must have divided among them, the sum of £200,000. At this place, loaded dice were found."

Page 94—"I have mentioned that he (Crockford) is quite an illiterate person, notwithstanding the polished society into which circumstances have brought him for many years past; he still speaks in the same hackney coachman style as formerly."

IRISH NOBLEMAN.

Page 34—"Why it is stated, and probably was true, that the late aid-de-camp of Lord Hutchinson, after having ruined himself by play, cut his throat in a fit of despair. It happened, however, that his life was saved, and after some weeks he recovered. The first place he went to, after he was allowed by his surgeon to go out, was the very gaming house where he had lost his money, and formed the desperate purpose of destroying himself."

METROPOLIS.

Page 103—"But perhaps the most extraordinary proof ever furnished, of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of curing the propensity, was that afforded by a late aid-de-camp of Lord Hutchinson. This gentleman, after having ruined himself by play, went one day, in the depth of his despair, and cut his throat with a razor. It chanced, however, that the wound, though so dreadful, that no hopes of recovery were for some days entertained, did not prove fatal. Aided by the first surgical skill and care, he recovered. Where does the reader suppose he went to on the first day he was allowed? to the very gaming house in which he had lost the money, the loss of which had made him form the resolution of destroying himself."

We could multiply proofs of the identity of the two books on the subject of gambling, but have done enough. In page 33, the Irish nobleman is represent-

ed as referring to Mr. Grant for one of his facts, viz. that eight millions sterling are annually lost in the different gambling houses in London. If the author intended this as a resource in case of detection, it cannot avail him, as the object is too apparent. The slightest examination of this part of the author's work, will show, that he could not have received the information about gambling, in the way he has stated. He was travelling from Liverpool to London by rail-road, and before reaching the capital, he parted with his Irish friend. Can any man suppose that travelling at the rate of from twenty to thirty miles an hour, he could put so much matter in a shape for publication? The Irish nobleman's memory in reciting so many facts, with names, sums of money, &c. must be the most extraordinary that the world has ever witnessed; to say nothing of the hero of the story himself. We submit to every reader of these pages, that the author of the "Glory and Shame of England" made up this portion of his work, from Foster's Miscellany, published some years ago, and with a hardihood which has never been exceeded, put the facts in the mouth of an Irish nobleman, a character, that every one must be satisfied never had an existence.

But it may be said, that from whatever source these statements have been derived, they reflect much on the character of England. We admit that nothing can be more disgraceful and pernicious than gambling, being alike dangerous to the welfare of

those who indulge in the practice, in time and eternity. We may however remark, that there is evidently much loose and hasty statement, in the work of Mr. Grant. So much is this believed, that the American editor of the Miscellany (page 109) has appended the following note at the conclusion of these statements. "It is almost needless to say that these accounts are grossly exaggerated, received upon hearsay, by a credulous as well as prejudiced mind, and retailed as facts without examination." An impartial writer in copying from this book would have given the above note also, but that would have both detracted something from his charge against England, and have discovered the source from which he had derived his information.

That the practice of gambling is carried on in London, to a great extent, is notorious. That it is greater in proportion to its enormous size, and wealth, than in other large cities we do not believe. Government, on whose head all the evils of society are heaped by our author, is in no respect to blame for it. The London magistrates have done every thing in their power to discourage it, and have been most diligent in detecting, and suppressing the "hells," as they are called, where foul play is practised. We fear this is one of those vices, which nothing but the force of conscience, acted on by the reception of genuine religion and morality, will ever fully eradicate. The gambling in Paris, Brussels, Ham-burgh, Vienna, and other large cities on the continent

of Europe, is known to be carried on to an enormous extent ; and if the reverend author would have cast his eyes over the gambling houses of New York, and other large American cities, and above all in New Orleans, he would have found ample grounds for lamentation and reproof. We have little doubt that the last mentioned city, taking its comparative size and wealth into account, is more addicted to gambling, than any other in the world.

One branch of gambling, viz : Lotteries, the only one on which Government could exercise any positive prohibition, and which yielded a large public revenue, was many years ago put down by Act of Parliament. This example has been wisely followed by some of the Northern states in the American Union. In others it still flourishes in all its vigor, to the great injury of the morals of the people. Recommending this subject to the consideration of Mr. Lester in his next edition, we return for a short time to his Irish friend.

In page 36, our author says, “ When the cars stopt at Birmingham we were charged at the refreshment rooms for a cold slice of beef, and a single buttered roll, half a crown (62½ cents,) which reminded me that *Englishmen are not always the immaculate creatures as some would have us suppose.*” What a non sequiter ! “ There must have been between 250 and 300 persons in the hall—Lord — ” (i. e. the Irish

nobleman,) “ requested the company, to listen for one moment.—“ Gentlemen, said he, I find that we are most *rudely insulted* at this house, in being called upon to pay half a crown for a cold slice, and a roll. For one I will not do it; not because I am unwilling to pay any reasonable charge, but because it is both unjust and *abusive*. Besides, I do not wish my companion, who is an American, nor any other stranger who may be present, to suppose, that we do not know when we are well treated, or will submit to an insult like this, from our own countrymen. I propose that we pay the usual charge for such an entertainment, and leave our good will for the house, or else pay the bill this fellow presents, and let the house suffer the consequences. Injustice is never to be borne by free Englishmen.”

Now we ask, if such an amount of vulgar nonsense could have been uttered by an *accomplished Nobleman*. That any person of rank would have come forward on such an occasion, is not likely; that any educated man could have spoken in such magniloquent terms; calling an overcharge, an insult, is preposterous. But the finale, on such an occasion, about “ free Englishmen,” would be too bombastical even for a set of New York firemen, swearing by the blood of their Revolutionary fathers, that they should have the election of their own foreman, or that No. 30 should have the glorious liberty of mauling No. 40, *ad libitum*.

Before parting with his distinguished companion, our author has a chapter on charges for servants at Hotels. It is customary, in settling the bills, to allow a small sum for Waiter, Chambermaid, and Boots, which, those who are accustomed to travel in Britian do, by adding the allowance to their bill, and paying the whole at once, without any separate transaction with the servants. Strangers unacquainted with this custom, find it occasions them some annoyance from the servants, by applications for the usual allowance, when they are leaving the house. We think the custom a bad one, and prefer the practice of all charges being at once included, and are pleased to learn that it is likely to be discontinued, many houses having already adopted the latter principle, which will, no doubt, soon become general. Our author as usual, destroys his case by overstatement. He represents the chambermaids, as charging for chambers "you never enter, nor never will." This is a mere fabrication, no such charge being made, as every American who has visited Britain, must know. He adds, "you submit to these ancient, (and of course, venerable) customs of England, as you do to the everlasting drizzling of its climate," &c. Now this is a very improper remark from a clergyman. If the sky and climate of England are not so clear as in the Western Hemisphere, it has other natural advantages bestowed on it by the Heavenly Author of our world, which counterbalance any drawbacks; the best proof of which is, that the average duration of human life is

much greater in England than in America. We have often heard it alleged, that some Americans think they had something to do in making their own sky and climate. Is it possible that the reverend author is a heretic of that school ?

13
LONDON, AND ITS DISTRESS.
CHAPTER II.

LONDON, AND ITS DISTRESS.

OUR hero at last reaches London. On his passage from the "Railway station at Easton Square" he says, (page 14) "to avoid the throng, we passed through different bye streets, where not a lamp was to be seen, nor a voice heard, save the noise of low debauchery, coming up from some foul and dismal cellar." How can this statement be consistent with truth? our author from his own account, was quietly seated in his "gloomy apartment in the Guildhall tavern," and had begun his first letter, from London, before twelve o'clock, and it is notorious that no lamps are extinguished in London, or any other large city in Britain, till two or three o'clock in the morning.

Again, what quick ears must the Rev. author have, if he could know what was taking place, even in the bye streets of London, as he passed rapidly through in a cab or hackney coach.

Our author (page 47) commences his second letter in the following terms: "My first acquaintance in the metropolis, I formed under peculiar circumstances. This morning before breakfast, as I was turning a corner in

the Hall, under rapid motion, I came in contact with a gentleman, who was advancing as fast towards me, and the shock was so violent, that it threw us both upon the floor. Our hats went in one direction, and canes in another, and our persons were displayed at full length upon the carpet, very much to the amusement of the chambermaid, who had the impudence to laugh at our misfortune." Now we think we have long ago read this, perhaps in Humphrey Clinker, or in some book of equal veracity, but we have not the means of quoting chapter and verse, as in other cases. Some of our readers will probably remember the original.

This rencounter produces a successor to the Irish nobleman, in the person of a Captain Manners, which our author tells us is not the gentleman's real name, as if it was necessary to give us that piece of information.

This *third companion* has, of course, "nothing to do" but to show all the lions of London to the Rev. author. He shows him the Thames, the bridges, and many other wonders, and we are informed that the New London Bridge is made of "*Scotland granite.*"

Our Rev. author makes quick work of the ten thousand streets in London, and proceeds (page 56) to his congenial region, viz. "the poverty stricken, and squalid abodes of Spitalfields."—After an examination, of what kind we are not informed, as he does not allege that he entered any house in that quarter, he says, that "he loves the spirit of American democracy better than ever, the interminable woods and prairies, which stretch away to-

wards the shores of the Pacific, offering a home to the poor oppressed, taxed, degraded, lower class of Great Britain."

These most patriotic remarks are followed up by a speech from companion No. 3, to the following effect: "Half the time," said my companion, "they cannot find employment, and when they can, what do they get for their labor? Not enough to satisfy the simplest wants of nature." "In England the poor must labor or starve; and they must let their employers fix the price of their labor." He then informs us, "that he had seen more wretchedness, and pinching poverty, more disgusting and heart-sickening degradation, in one Lane in Spitalfields, than during eighteen months, on a visit to the United States."—"He does not meddle much with politics, but is of opinion that oppression and misrule have produced very much of this suffering and vice."

Now our author and his Cicerone, here make some singular statements. First, when the former looked on the wretchedness of Spitalfields, he thought of American democracy and the broad prairies. Now it was natural for him to think of the only country scenes, which he had probably ever seen, except on his run from Liverpool to London. But if he wanted to make country scenery delightful by contrast, he need not have travelled so far, but have gone to the Five Points at New York, or to Orange street, and there he would have found squalid misery enough. But he must away across the Atlantic, to spy out the misery of other lands, ■

from any benevolent object of suggesting improvement, but that his vanity may be gratified by contrasting it with the country, "which affords a home to the oppressed of Great Britain."

With regard to No. 3, whom our author conveniently makes out to have been eighteen months in the United States, in order that he may join him in drawing the contrast, it is plain that in many places, both in England and America, either he or his friend might have lived *eighteen years*, without seeing any squalid misery. The only difference is, that in Britain they sought out the poverty, and misery. In America, they looked on the surface, because if they had gone a little lower, discoveries might have been made, that Americans "were not quite the immaculate creatures they would have us believe."

One would suppose, on reading many passages in this work, that all the poor of Britain and other European countries, had received support on their arrival in the United States, without giving any equivalent on their part; when the fact is, that the United States guard, with the greatest jealousy, against the introduction of mere paupers, into the country. She imposes a tax on all emigrants on their arrival, to cover the risk of pauperism. This is not done in Britain, in similar circumstances, and we are not aware of any facilities given to foreigners, which are not afforded in all other countries. She has done nothing for them that has not been dictated by interest, or state policy. With a country capable of supporting ten times its present

number of inhabitants, she has been wise enough not to impose any heavy burdens on foreigners. The consequence has been, that her population has increased six fold since the revolution, and how vast is the proportion of this increase arising from immigration.

Her fields have been cultivated, her bridges and houses have been built, her canals and rail roads formed, chiefly by foreigners, and to their skill and labor is she chiefly indebted for the progress she has made in manufactures. Her political privileges have been readily and unwisely bestowed on these foreigners, for every day's experience is showing, that these privileges in the hands of multitudes who enjoy them, are alike injurious to the holders themselves, and to the Union at large.

No. 3 says, the laborer in England must work or starve. In what country, we ask, is labor not required of those who have not the means of support otherwise? We know none. It is certainly not in the United States. But it is asserted that in Britain the laborers must work at the price their employers choose to give. It is singular that our author should make such a statement, especially in connection with Spitalfields.

The silk manufacture was originally founded in that district, by Protestant refugees from France, and was an object of the special protection of the British government.

To prevent the decline of wages, an act of Parliament was passed in 1778, authorizing the magistrates of Middlesex to fix the rate of wages for the weavers, and prohibiting masters and workmen from paying or

receiving other rates. Under this most pernicious act, the silk trade languished, and in seasons of commercial embarrassment, far more distress was of course experienced by the workmen, than in places where the trade was free. In 1824 this act was repealed, and we believe it is the only instance of such an absurd regulation having existed in Britain, except during the dark ages of her history.

The silk trade has, since the abrogation of that law, made rapid progress, and is carried on to great extent, in its old seat, in Manchester, in Macclesfield, and other places in Lancashire. Spitalfields is, like other manufacturing places, exposed to all the fluctuations arising from foreign and domestic trade. That the operatives are oppressed, either there, or in any part of Britain, is utterly untrue. Direct taxes they do not pay at all. The working-man in America pays more taxes than the working-man in Britain, as we shall afterwards show.

No. 3 takes our author to Westminster Abbey, and gives us a speech of several pages, but so superior to our author's style, that it has most likely been copied from *the book*. A long comment then follows on various characters, whose earthly ashes slumber in that interesting place of repose. This is so strangely mixed up by our author with Lexington, Bunker's Hill, Pilgrim Fathers, whipping the English, *et hoc omne genus*, that its paternity to a certain extent, cannot be doubted. Another piece of better composition, is interjected from page 83 to 93.

On leaving the Abbey, a most moving scene takes place. The Rev. author sees "a very pretty girl" (he never seems at fault on this subject) "watering a York and Lancaster rose." He wishes to have this rose, as a token, but it is the only one. "Will you part with that rose, to a stranger, my dear?" "Oh! no sir, I have tended it for several months, and cannot think of parting with it, and it's the only flower I have in the world too." He threw down half a crown. It must have been on the ground, as there could be no tables in the walk—what a generous man! and done so gracefully too! It is thrown down, however, and the girl does not throw it at him, as his rudeness deserved, but breaks the stem, and gives him the rose. Our author relents. It was a cruel thing to take a rose from a girl (he says) shut up in brick walls, "where the fresh country air never moves," although this is close upon those magnificent parks, which are the very lungs of London. He turns and offers back the rose. The girl is in tears. He gives her another crown. She tells him he is generous, and he is kind, and as the best of friends must part at last, he in the end parts with this pretty girl also.

This republican seems to have a great fancy for *crowns*, a term rarely used in England in reference to money, shillings being always employed when speaking of sums below a pound, although *half a crown* is occasionally mentioned. The pale-faced girl's book is a crown. The Birmingham lunch is half a crown.

The Westminster girl's rose is half a crown, and a crown, and all the Americans are declared by the Irish nobleman, to be heirs apparent to the crown. We have seldom read a piece of namby pamby nonsense equal to the story of the Westminster girl.

Our traveller next makes his appearance at page 98, when on his way to the World's Convention with "one of the distinguished philanthropists of Great Britain."

As a matter of course, he meets with an adventure, two children about eight years old are begging in a small street near Pater Noster Row. This must be Ave Maria Lane, if there is any truth in the story at all. The gentleman accompanying our author wishes to go on, but Mr. Lester prefers the adventure with the children, and here his usual powers of romance display themselves. The children are clothed "in a coarse hempen sack, with holes for the neck and arms." They kneel on the pavement to our hero and his friend, *and leave the fresh blood on the stones*, when they are desired to get up.

We have been in London often, and in most of the large cities in Britain, but never did we see such a dress as that described, and we appeal to all who have had the same opportunity of observation, for the correctness of what we say. We believe the slaves in America sometimes are clothed in dresses of coarse canvas or osnaburgh, and the author may have drawn on his imagination, and transferred the scene of their exhibition, from a slave region, to a free country.

That any person in England would kneel to a fellow creature, and leave the blood behind him, is too absurd to be noticed ; miserable slaves we believe often kneel to their masters, to implore the remission of punishment, when masters are about to give them practical illustrations "that all men are born free and equal ;" and some recollection of this kind must have floated through the author's brain, when he penned this part of his narrative.

We have already convicted our author of glaring fabrications. If he wishes to escape having this added to the number, let him bring forward the philanthropist, who can have no object in refusing his testimony. Our author, in his usual style of examining facts, puts questions to the children. Little must he have been accustomed to give charity, or he would have drawn no conclusion, till the children's story was corroborated by other testimony.

They offer to sell him a penny book which they had stolen from a stall. They say that "they see" the book on a stall, a phrase never used in Britain. The language of such children may be inaccurate enough in many respects, but in speaking of what is past, the most ignorant never use the present time in any word. It belongs to this side of the water. The children are represented as saying, that they stay all day in the streets, and at night "where the policemen puts us."

This is pure fabrication. Street begging is strictly prohibited, and on its being detected, the police officers convey the parties to the nearest office of the mendi-

city society, which gives them temporary relief, till they can forward them to the Parish, which is bound by law to give them support. This is well known to be the practice all over the country. Our author lectures "the philanthropist" in a rude and ostentatious manner for his conduct to these children. How much he is unlike the man—

" Who did good by stealth
And blushed to find it fame."

He contrasts his own conduct, with that of his companion, and closes the subject by an affecting allusion to his reward in a better world, which he appears satisfied he has secured. Our author gives a long extract from evidence taken by the House of Commons, showing the vast extent of frauds practised in begging.

If Mr. Lester had, in his short visit to England, met with such applications for relief, and if he had been really desirous to serve the parties, he would have given some immediate assistance, and then endeavored to make such an arrangement, in the proper quarter, as would be likely to ensure a permanent change in their habits. The truth is, that of all the classes of poor people, there are none entitled to so little compassion as the common importunate beggars, especially in countries where the law relieves, in all cases of real distress; and while on this subject, we shall give our next chapter on the Poor Laws of Britain.

CHAPTER III.

POOR LAWS IN BRITAIN.

THE great objects of compassion, whose cases should ever meet with prompt relief, are those who from age, or sickness, or other causes, are unable to exercise their wonted industry. These frequently shrink from receiving that relief, from a sense of independence, or the remembrance of brighter days, to which they are both legally and morally entitled. The importunate beggar, on the other hand, has no such feelings. If he is relieved in the street, or at the house door, without farther inquiry, it is only giving away those means which should have been bestowed on more worthy objects.

These people do not wish to have parish relief, for their wandering, and predatory habits would then be destroyed ; and it has been frequently ascertained, that the more artful beggars have received six times the amount that would maintain them, which they generally spend in dissipation, and in some cases have been known to hoard up large sums of money, obtained from the mistaken benevolence of their fellow-men.

The greatest objects of pity are the children of such parents. The only chance of saving them from these habits, which will in all probability effect their ruin,

is to take them from their parents, and place them in the Parish Work House, or other public Institution. When orphans are left without means, or friends to take charge of them, this is the course pursued. It is even more necessary with the class we have mentioned, than if they were orphans, as there is no hope of changing their habits, but by withdrawing them from the influence of such bad associations.

Those who have reflected, and have written much on the subject, have differed materially as to the best mode of relieving the poor. One class, at the head of which is the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, of Scotland, has contended, that to give fixed parochial relief to the poor is most pernicious, as it tended, by making the working classes look to such assistance, to break down the spirit of frugality, and industry, and to destroy that independence of mind, which is one of the best features in the peasantry of a country. The Doctor contended that all relief should flow either from private charity, or the benevolence of Christian congregations, to their poor members. So far did he carry his favorite theory, that he has said in some of his publications, that he would rather see his native land overrun by hosts of beggars, than have the continuance of regular poor rates, as at present.

It must not be supposed that the Rev. gentleman was indifferent to such an event. He was merely com-

paring one admitted evil, with what he viewed as a great evil. No man ever felt, or ever did more for the poor than he did, when he had the charge of a parish.

The Doctor's views about the poor have not, however, been so generally adopted, as on other subjects, on which he has published, and it is quite evident, that the public mind in Britain decidedly prefers parochial or publicrelief, considering it the only practicable means of meeting the evil.

Much attention has of late years been bestowed, in considering the extent to which that relief should be given. This has differed widely in the great divisions of Britain, viz. England and Scotland.

The Poor Laws of England were originally established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Previous to that period, the country appears to have been in a state of excessive annoyance, from beggars of every class and description, from the lame, aged, and infirm, who were really objects, to the sturdy vagrant, who preyed on whatever property he could lay hold of, as he passed through the country. The law of Elizabeth provided permanent support for all the poor, aged, sick and infirm, and for children, who had no means of support otherwise. It is quite evident, that all these classes were proper subjects for parochial relief, but the poor laws did not stop there, but in time, relief was also given to able bodied men, who either could not get work, or alleged that they could not.

Much abuse grew out of this part of the law. The parish paid the unemployed laborers the wages generally received, and frequently hired them out, at a reduced rate of wages, at such work as was to be procured. The effect of this was to reduce the rate of wages all over the district, and thus to add to the pressure on every class of laborers.

For a very long period, the administration of the poor laws in England was on the most liberal scale. During the late war, when all expenditure was extravagant, it was so more particularly. The tables of the work-houses supplied such fare to the inmates, that it became, not an object to avoid the work house, but rather a desirable place to enter. The natural consequence was, that the springs of industry, and of independent feeling, were fearfully relaxed among the working people. The work-houses were crowded with inmates. The poor rates rose to between seven and eight millions sterling, being about one fifth of the income of the land of England.

In Scotland a different system prevailed, which had been originally adopted, and persevered in—a system no less consistent with the habitual caution of the Nation, than with their means, which are so much below those of their more wealthy brethren in the south. The same classes of individuals unable to work, or in infancy, are there entitled to relief as in England. But here they stop. The able bodied, the unemployed, have no claim, but are left to the exertions of private

benevolence. In occasional seasons of great public privations, large voluntary contributions have been made for the relief of the unemployed classes, and sometimes extraordinary assessments have been laid in particular districts, by authority of Parliament. This was done on occasion of the remarkable failure of the crops in 1799 and 1800, on the application of the inhabitants of the districts themselves.

In the administration of relief to the regular parish poor, the utmost frugality has been exercised ; a sufficient supply of food and clothing is provided, and a good education for the young is also bestowed in the work-houses, with weekly or monthly pensions to such as live in their own houses, or with their relations. While the North Britons have acted wisely, in not making pauperism a desirable state to fall into, it may be mentioned that, in some places, they have erred on the side of too great parsimony.

We have heard of a humorous story, which occurred about half a century ago, and which tends to show the different treatment of the poor in the two countries. A Scotch barber, who had long been resident in London, had found it desirable to be admitted into one of the work-houses of that city, where he lived, for some years, in great ease and comfort. It happened, unfortunately for him, that, from some cause or other, it was discovered that he had not lived long enough in any particular parish in London to give him a claim, and that his legal residence was in Scot-

land, in a parish not far from the seat of her ancient kings. The work-house of that place was not distinguished for the goodness of its fare, but Strap was, nevertheless, shipped off by the first Berwick smack for Leith.

On reaching his new habitation, he proceeded to the kitchen with a rapid pace, and having looked all round, he exclaimed, "Why, where's the jack?" "We have no jack here," said one of the inmates. "How the d—— then do you roast your meat?" "We get neither roasted nor boiled meat here," was the unwelcome reply. The unfortunate barber, who had been used to better things, turned on his heel, ran out of the house, and was never more seen in that quarter of the world.

It is but justice to the Scotch system to say, that in all the work-houses, butcher-meat now forms part of the diet.

In 1834, a bill was passed, making material alterations in the English poor laws, and it is a measure highly creditable to the Whig ministry, under whose auspices it was carried through. The objects of the bill were—First, to reduce the expense of the poor's system; and, second, to raise the standard of feeling among those who had been accustomed to receive parochial aid.

Formerly every parish had its own separate organization, and a local staff of parish officers. In many small parishes, the expense of the staff formed a large

proportion of the whole. By the new act the parishes were divided into circles, or groups of considerable extent, by which a great saving in the management took place. All extravagant expenditure was stopt, a sufficient supply of wholesome provision being provided, but all luxuries excluded.

The next object was secured by a gradual reduction of the number of able-bodied men, who professed to be unable to find work. Under the former system, the labouring man, who was out of employment, had no inducement to search for it, as the parish was bound by law to pay him his wages; and it frequently happened, that the man who was maintaining his family by his honest labour, received lower wages than the pensioner on the parish.

The effects of such a system were soon evident. Men became indifferent about satisfying their employers, or maintaining their reputation, when they knew that the claims of the indolent, or profligate, or careless, were entitled to the same relief as the best members of the community. Besides, from the desire not to lose their parish claim by change of residence, a larger population frequently grew up within these parishes than the inhabitants were able to employ, the working classes became degraded, while those who were possessed of means, but in the face of these details, were oppressed much by the high poor's rates.

An injudicious and most mistaken benevolence was the great cause of these evils of the poor law system :

but how shameful is it for Mr. Lester to assert, that the poor are oppressed by the aristocracy of England.

The act of 1834 has done much to remedy the evils of this system. By this Act, the able-bodied, who professed they could not get work, were offered admission into the work-houses, erected for them within the various unions, and all out-door relief was refused. Many families, at first, took advantage of the offer of admission to the work-house, but the number has gradually declined; and, by the last report of the poor law commissioners, all the able-bodied poor, in districts containing a population of seven millions, are now off the roll, and have found employment in other places, where labour is more in demand than in those they have left.

The moment the means are ready, by the erection of union work-houses, the same principle will be applied to the other half of England. The effect of this change has already lowered the poor's rates from £7,500,000, which they amounted to in 1834, to £5,110,000, in 1840. This large saving will be chiefly spent in wages, which, under the direction of the proprietors, it may fairly be assumed, will be judiciously spent, and will add materially to the comforts of the working classes.

But the great object accomplished is the immeasurable change which the operation of this beneficial act must have made on the characters of those who formerly depended on parish relief. The reports of the com-

missioners appointed by the act of 1834, contains a mass of information of the highest interest and importance to all countries. They have been published annually, up to 1841. They exhibit, in the most striking manner, the care with which the British Parliament watches over the interests of that class of the community, which Mr. Lester has so untruly stated, is oppressed by the laws of the country.*

We have not returns before us of the exact number of individuals, relieved by the English poor laws. In Scotland, in 1821, relief was given to one person for every $47\frac{1}{2}$ of the population, being about two per cent. of the whole. It is curious that, in 1838, 15,069 persons were relieved in Massachusetts; which, taking the population at 700,000, is a little above the proportion relieved in Scotland. This fact would teach such writers as our author caution, in bringing up railing accusations. There is no aristocracy in that excellent

* Great efforts have been made to excite opposition to the working of the New Poor Law System by those interested in the abuses of the old system, or by the political opponents of the Whigs—and unfounded and exaggerated statements have been circulated of the failure of the plan in certain districts.

There may be a certain amount of truth in these statements, as it is easy to understand how some may have failed to do their duty, among the thousands of agents required to carry into effect so extensive a reform. But the new system is so sound in principle, and fraught with such benefits to the people, that its opponents will not venture seriously to interfere with its operation.

part of the Union. But such men hate facts and hate figures, for they put to flight many a loose and ill-connected theory.

He says, "England has laid up for herself a sure store of vengeance." But what would he have England to do? We suppose, from a hint he gives, in another part of the work, he wishes an agrarian law passed. But even in America, the people are not ripe for such a measure, and we earnestly hope never will, although the doctrine of State repudiation is equally bad in principle.

What would be thought of the man who should come over from Britain, land in New York, and at once proceed to an examination of the worst houses in the Five Points, or Anthony-street; and having met some beggars in the street, should set up a cry that there was no injustice and oppression equal to that of the government of the United States; that there was no place so wicked as America, and nothing so good as his own fertile plains of Cheshire, or Devonshire.

There is much said by our author about the corn laws, and much has been said, and is now saying, on that subject; but we reserve the consideration for a separate article, as their importance demands of them.

Meantime we would say to the reverend author, Why do you confine all your sympathy to one class of the community? why not extend it to others of a higher

class, who are suffering from the pressure of the times? Do you think that those who have been more highly educated, and those who have been accustomed to more comforts, feel the pressure of privation less when it visits them?

Cast your eyes on that respectable looking individual, who is just closing the doors of his counting-house in Liverpool. See the anguish depicted on his countenance. He has been long a merchant, and, by honest industry, had realized a respectable competency. He was about to retire from business, and spend the remainder of his days, with his attached family, in peace and tranquility, on a small property he had bought in the adjoining county of Chester.

Some months ago he had been advised by his banker to purchase foreign bonds to the extent of £40,000, expecting to draw the dividend and to sell off a part of the principal, to pay his remaining obligations, and thus to wind up his business. But alas! the State that issued these Bonds, has refused to pay either interest or principal. It is known that his whole fortune is embarked in them, his credit is broken, all his savings must go, and his property must be sold. He retires from business penniless.

Follow him home, and witness the distress of his family. If he had lost his all, by the ordinary transactions of business, the blow would have been sufficiently heavy, but in this way, it is doubly severe. Imprudent man, you will say, why trust your whole property,

with one of these South American States, when the government is not yet settled, and the chiefs are little better than robbers ?

Rev. Sir, you are mistaken. The bonds were issued by one of the States of the American Union, a *free* State, we were going to say, but our pen *repudiated* the unhallowed union. They are the bonds of the State of Mississippi, the bonds of the Sovereign People, of "the heirs apparent to the throne." No proud and haughty English aristocracy is concerned in this act—only the Cotton aristocracy of the high and chivalrous South.

Have you no sympathy with this sufferer, and with thousands who are laboring under distress, from the same source ? These cases are on the *distress* side of England. Say whether they belong to the *Glory* or *Shame* side of America. We know there are thousands of righteous men in America, who detest, and are ashamed of these base transactions. But they are supported in full force, by those who are styled, *par excellence*, ultra republican, and ultra democratical. Mercy it is, that the world is not under their unhallowed dominion.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM OF BRITAIN.

OUR author says much on this subject. And we begin with some of his remarks. In volume 1, page 161, he says, "There is not a branch of this immense system of manufacture in which there is not a painful sacrifice of health and life. The ignorance, vice, disease, deformity and wretchedness of the English operatives as a body almost exceed belief." "I am persuaded the physical miseries of the English operative, are greater by far than the West India Slaves before their emancipation." Page 157, "This general principle may be applied to the whole system of British manufactures, and it is a truth no candid man who has investigated the subject, will question, that while the work is made perfect, the workman is destroyed," and in the dedication of the work, the author says, "I would rather see the children of my love born to the heritage of Southern slavery than to see them subjected to the blighting bondage of the poor English operative's life."—"England is a proud and wicked nation," &c. We could fill many pages with this foul and abusive language—but shall proceed to examine the proofs he gives of these assertions.

We begin with an adventure of our author's, on which he founds materially. It is contained in his letter to Dr. Channing, but we doubt whether that talented individual will think himself honored by the notice. The Doctor may, however, accept the homage of the author, who is an avowed Abolitionist, although his soul has never felt the love of genuine liberty, for we view him as an apologist of Slavery, who should take rank with the Colonizationists, those reformers of a thousand years. We should however remember, that although the Doctor is also an avowed Abolitionist, and has written ably on the subject, he gives only his *patronage* to the anti-slavery societies, as the Unitarians give their *patronage* to Christianity.

Be this as it may, our author informs us, page 184, that while in Manchester, "he happened to be wandering one evening through a dirty lane in the part of the town where the operatives are clustered." Had this been in Utica, in Babylon, or in Rome, or in any place of equal importance in the State of New York, Mr. Lester would have called it a *city*, but it was only in the *town* of Manchester in England, with its 300,000 inhabitants.

While "*wandering*" in that place, he sees a boy apparently about twelve or thirteen, "dragging along a pale little girl, considerably younger than himself." Our author immediately descries an adventure. He takes hold of the children who had just left the Factory, and are on their way home. He is of course conduct-

ed to a miserable place, and enters the "cellar" where they live. The mother was lying on a low bed of rags in one corner of the apartment. She is "sallow and consumptive, her forehead large and handsome."

He apologises for intruding. She says, "God bless you, I hope you have come to me for good—no one has entered this cellar to-day, except the officer, and he took my last shilling for taxes." "God bless you, woman, I exclaimed, what can a tax gatherer have to do in your house—come to rob a widowed mother, and her hungry children of her last shilling!! When I thought of Britain in this light, a shudder went through my frame as though I had been bitten by a serpent."

We have no doubt, that such is always his feeling, towards Britain. He has given us indelible proofs of it, but does he believe in a judgment to come, when he sits down to palm such monstrous statements on the world? The house he describes, pays no taxes.

The only government house tax in Britain is a widow tax, which has been reduced to half its former amount. This tax is only leviable on houses having eight windows and upwards, and the widow's house "had no light but from the door." Neither does such a house pay any local taxes. All large cities have taxes for supporting the poor, for the expense of police, and for lighting and cleaning the streets. Generally, ten

pounds is the lowest* annual rent assessable, and the poorer portion of the inhabitants never pay one penny.

It is only upon the very ignorant that the author could expect to pass such an absurdity for a moment, as that a person in the miserable state he represents this woman to be in, should be *asked* for taxes ; and then the idea of a man *taking* her last shilling ! How could he *take* it ? There is no mode here or in Britain, by which money can be *forced* from its possessor, but by robbery, and it is not alleged seriously that she was *robbed*. It could not be that she paid it by constraint, for fear of losing her furniture, as she had none to lose, unless it be the *bench*, offered to our author to sit on (she having no chairs). *Bench* is a word unknown in Britain, except a Carpenter's or Judge's bench. What are called benches here, are called *forms* in Britain, or stools.

We have already said, that such a house pays no taxes. Not only is this the case, but whenever a case of the least difficulty, approaching to inability, is brought forward, a certificate of poverty by a Magistrate or Church Warden, which is easily procured, gives exemption. Many thousands are exempted in this way every year, particularly the keepers of lodging houses, which are often large, and highly rented, and when the occupants do not succeed in getting lodgers, they are relieved of all taxes. This is the practice over all Britain.

The mother of this family is represented as feeding

* A House of ten pounds per annum, (or fifty dollars) in England, is as commodious as one of two hundred dollars in New York.

her children with oat-meal gruel, from an iron spoon, and refusing them an additional supply. One of the children tells the other that it is her turn "to have the cup to-night." This and the spoon are taken from Dickens, whom our author professes to admire. Oat meal is scarcely known in Manchester, but it answered best to get in Oliver Twist's cup, and Dominie Squeers' spoon.

The widow tells her history, while the children are gone out for food, which our generous author had given her the means of purchasing. She has six children. Her husband died a twelvemonth ago. Her four eldest were sent to the factory—her husband had been a machine maker. He wrought at his business, and she sewed, and her husband's wages supported them pretty comfortably.

They did not send their children to the factory till they were ten or twelve years of age. "We knew they would grow sickly, and feeble as soon as they went there." Then why not bring them up to some other employment? She goes on to state, page 189, "that on her husband's death she was much reduced, having sold all her furniture and clothes for the funeral, and taxes." What taxes? Six hungry children were staring her in the face, and she was at length obliged to send her four eldest to be apprenticed, although it was as painful to her, as to lay them in their graves. Now how could these four children be starving, or how could they be sent to be apprenticed, when they

had been employed at the mills long before her husband's death. She further says, that on her husband's death, she sent Tony to the mill, who only got two shillings per week.

Alas! for the blunders of those who make up tales of fiction. When our author met Tony in the street, before he had seen his mother, he informed him, that he had been *five years* at the mill. Tony had therefore been *four years* at the mill, according to his own account, before his father's death; but according to his mother's he did not go till his father died, which was only one year before.

Tony besides was said by our author to be between twelve and thirteen, say twelve and a half years. He could therefore only be seven and a half years old when he went to the mill, although his truth speaking parent declared, she and her husband never sent them till they were ten or twelve years of age. It seems that every person who comes near Mr. Lester, takes the wrong direction in making statements.

Again, the four children older than Tony, must have been beyond the time for being apprenticed—the three oldest must have been grown up.

Our author proceeds to introduce the sacred language of Scripture, in his most veracious narrative. The ideas of this woman, on the subject of religion, are (of course) extremely vague. She says, "I used to go to church, when I had clothes to wear, but I heard what I could never believe. — When I heard the parson speak of a merciful God, who loves all his creatures so

well that he does not let a sparrow fall to the ground without his notice, I could not forget that I, for no crime, had to toil on in poverty and wretchedness, and see the bread taken from the mouths of my hungry children, to support the rich minister, who never comes near my cellar.”

Mr. Lester never seems to think it necessary, for any of his characters to be consistent in their statements, any more than himself. Surely this woman did not live in a cellar, when she was in good circumstances, had good clothes, and was able to attend the church; neither could hers be *hungry children*, at that time.

In no case does any person in the situation of that family, pay any thing towards the church of England. The Church is supported by tithes on the land, or by funds belonging to the church for ages. Seat rents are in some cases paid, but the liberality in this respect is well known. Any person desirous of having a seat, and unable to pay, is always provided for. There is no city tax for the support of the church, excepting a small sum for supporting the fabrics of the churches, generally amounting to a few shillings for each person, but it is only payable by those who are well able to do it. The amount is fixed each year by the inhabitants themselves. How much must our author have calculated on the ignorance of his readers, in putting forth a story about this woman paying so many “*hard earned dollars*” to support the church of England.

He says, that after praying with the widow, he left her, and “was blessed.” We make no comment on this, but

leave him to the enjoyment of such blessedness as can be derived, from the manufacture of such an amount of absurdities, as we have already exhibited.

Page 178, our author meets with a street porter in Manchester, who of course is in distress. He gains from two shillings to a crown a day. He has nine children, some of whom are at the mill. They are all in misery, never eat butcher meat, live on potatoes and coarse bread. "Almost every thing we get for our work seems to go for taxes." "We are taxed for something almost every week in the year."

We have already enumerated all the taxes payable on houses in Britain. The idea of a family living on potatoes and coarse bread paying direct taxes, will only excite a smile on the face of any person who is acquainted with the truth.

The porter in question cannot afford "*a crown*" for a Bible, although he might have got one for half the money, or without payment at all, if he had been so disposed. Here the perpetual *crown* is again introduced by our author, who generously gives him the means of buying a Bible.

The Factory System engages a large share of our author's attention. He favors his readers with some extracts taken from evidence by the House of Commons, from which it appeared that cruelty had been committed upon certain children employed in two factories. Some of these extracts have been recently selected, from a large

mass of evidence, laid before the British Parliament in 1833, and have gone the round of the American papers, as events of recent occurrence, and as proof of the modes in which factories are conducted in Britain; whereas they show the very reverse. They were all that could be found, in the volume of evidence long ago published, and were exposed to the world, by the watchfulness of Parliament over the interests of the people. It might be as well assumed, that because Miss Rogers had been murdered at New York, and Mr. Suydam at New Jersey, that all the people of the United States were murderers.

That children have been in some cases allowed to work longer hours than their strength warranted, is evident; that they could be treated with such harshness, as described in some of the extracts, *with impunity*, on the part of their overseers, we cannot believe.

We strongly suspect that some part of the statements given by our author, was not taken before the House of Commons, as allusion is made by him to other sources. He may have got it in some Chartist publication. Besides, the House of Commons has no power to examine on oath. That belongs to the judicial department. Our doubt arises not from the impossibility of such acts of oppression and cruelty having occurred, although not likely, before so many witnesses, but because we are told of no punishment having followed.

There is no bar in England to the punishment of crime. The criminal cannot carry his case from court

to court, till the public feeling is allayed, the crime forgotten, and the ends of justice defeated. Neither does the rank, or money, or birth of the party, make any difference. The law has no practice different for the Native, the Irishman, and the African. Lord Waldgrave lately finished his six months in Jail, for knocking down a watchman. Neither is there any regulation in Parliament, to prevent the humblest of these factory children sending up their petition, which would have at once been respectfully received, and remitted to the quarter where the complaint could be legitimately entertained.

As far back as in 1802, parliament had interposed by law, for the protection of factory children, and also, in 1816 and 1831. When complaints were again brought before them, they passed a new and comprehensive bill in 1833, regulating the ages at which children may be employed, their hours of attendance, making it imperative on them to attend school, providing holydays, and appointing inspectors, who are to report to the Secretary of State, to see these wise, and humane regulations carried into effect.

Our author has found it necessary to quote this Bill, and he can find no fault with it, as it seems the very best measure that could be devised for remedying the evil. But he was not so easily to part with this portion of the "Shame of England." He, therefore, having dismissed Capt. Manners, alias No. 3, introduces us to No. 4, in the person of a Manchester manufacturer, name unknown.

This new character, page 202, gives the whole Factory Bill in a speech, and then makes the following comment upon it. "Now this you will say is a humane and just bill—it must remove the greatest evils, (not very likely his auditor would admit any such thing). "But this is not the case, and I can show that as great, if not greater evils, now exist. It is impossible for this law to be observed; for many families would starve to death, unless they worked more hours than it permits." He then says, that the law "has been of great service to the apprenticed children, but of little service to others; for Parliament may make as many laws as they please to protect the operatives; they will all be in vain, so long as these same men groan under the weight of the corn laws, and the vast burden of taxation."

Now could any Manchester manufacturer make so foolish a speech? "The bill has been of great service to apprenticed children," and pray what other class has it any thing to do with? It takes no cognizance of the engagements between masters and operatives, and in casting the shield of its protection over the factory children, only yielded to a humane necessity to violate a rule, which all men now admit to be best: viz. to leave trade to protect itself, as the wise merchants of Nantz said to Louis XIV.

But the author, confessing the benefits this act has conferred on the children, and aware that it had protected them from the selfishness of their employers, and

the ignorance or carelessness of some of their parents, dextrously shifts his ground, and says it does not *protect the operatives*, i. e. the grown up workmen, when it never was intended to reach them at all. The author should confess at once

“ I do not like thee, Doctor Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell,
But this I'm sure, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell.”

Regulating of wages, punishments for forestalling markets, bounties and protections, are fast taking their place among the things that were, never more to return, unless the world shall again be overspread by darkness.

The only Act which has been passed for many years, connected with the operatives of Britain, is Mr. Hume's Act, putting an end to the combination laws, thus allowing operatives to combine as much as they please, to raise their wages, provided in doing so they do not intimidate, or lay violent hands on those who might differ from them in opinion. And how often do we hear of these operatives leaving their employment in a body, standing out for an increase, or against a reduction of wages, supporting themselves for many weeks without labor, and in the end carrying their point with their employers, or settling by compromise.

And yet our author says, the workmen of England are obliged to take such wages as their master allows

them! that they are the most abject and degraded beings on the face of the earth, and that they are worse than American slaves. Great inconvenience arises from these emeutes between the masters and operatives, and sometimes they are connected with acts of violence, which no man can justify. Their frequent occurrence however affords unequivocal proof of the perfect independence that the operatives exercise in all their dealings with their employers. That they have seldom occurred for the last few years, affords proof that the supply of labor is redundant.*

We believe that the greatest cause of that change, has arisen from the transactions of British merchants and manufacturers, with the United States, in 1835 and 1836. The people of the United States during that period, appear to have made up their minds that time was not required on their part, to accomplish the work of ages--rash undertakings were commenced--cities sprung into existence almost by magic; canals, rail roads, and banks without number, were commenced. The capital for these undertakings was not to be found at home, and Europe, especially Britain, was looked to for the means. With eager and insatiable avidity, the British market was flooded with State Stocks, Rail-Road, Canal, and Bank Stocks.

* By one of the last arrivals from England, we are informed of a strike for wages among the Stone Quarriers of a considerable district, and that hundreds are standing out idle, receiving ten shillings sterling, per week per man, from those who are working. .

England, depending on the good faith of a people of kindred origin, bought these Bonds to the extent of many millions, perhaps Thirty Millions Sterling, or one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. This immense amount of paper money, thrown afloat by these operations, necessarily created a great demand for Foreign Manufactures. The exports from Britain to the United States, were in 1834, £6,844,000. They rose in 1835, to £10,568,000, and in 1836 to the extraordinary sum of £12,425,000 or above sixty-two millions of dollars.

Many of the undertakings which produced this exotic growth of trade, were begun in folly and ended in misery. The convulsion of Spring 1837 exposed the true state of matters. A considerable part of these vast importations was never paid, from the inability of parties here, many of whom made most honorable exertions to meet their engagements. Goods were sacrificed to a vast amount in New York, in Boston, in Philadelphia and New Orleans. Misery and ruin spread through the manufacturing towns in England. The exportation to the United States in 1837 suddenly fell to £4,695,000, being a decline in one year, of about seven and three quarter millions sterling, or thirty-eight millions of dollars.

Such a sudden and severe calamity, would have thrown any other country but England, back half a century. Till then, her operatives were never in such a state. New factories had been built, and thousands of operatives drawn to the business of supplying the

market of North America. All were at once thrown idle.

See that immense manufactory at Preston ; you ask, why it is shut, and so many workmen wandering about unemployed. It was employed in the American trade. The merchants in Liverpool who bought their goods, have failed, from the insolvency of their house in New York. The Liverpool house would have stood, but they had unfortunately bought £50,000 of United States bank stock, and that completed their ruin.

Let our author carry his eyes back to London, by the rail-road, if he can do so without the aid of an Irish nobleman, and enter that neat dwelling at Pentonville, near the capital. Observe that pensive widow. She holds in her hands a letter just received from her banker, informing her that there is a balance against her on his books, and that he regrets to state, that the interest on her Illinois state stock, due some days ago, had not been paid. Her husband had left her a limited sum, to support her family. It was so small, that the interest in the British funds, would barely support them. To enable her to send her children to a boarding-school, where they might receive a suitable education, she risked her all on the credit of the state of Illinois, as she expected to receive higher interest than in the British funds. Fatal mistake ! The British nation has been in perils of all kinds. She has stood the onset of a world in arms, and never quailed. She has carried on her shoulders a debt, which would

have crushed all the world besides. But never for a moment has she dreamed of doing injustice to the public creditor. Her faith and honor have ever been inviolate.

Thousands are in the circumstances of those cases we have now supposed, depending on American honor, and have lost their all. Capital which might have been directed into useful and productive channels, has been in this way lost, or rendered inoperative, to an immense amount. Hence the distressed state of some classes of operatives in Britain.

No. 4, alias the manufacturer, says, page 196, "just at this time there are 40,000 operatives in Manchester, who are out of work, and obliged to depend upon charity for bread to keep them from starvation." Now here is a round assertion. Manchester and Salford contain 300,000 inhabitants, one fifth of whom will be grown up men, say 60,000. Of this number there cannot be 40,000 employed in Manchester altogether; we would rather say, not above 30,000, and yet 40,000 are in a state of starvation. After this statement, the author of the "Shame and Glory of England" and his friend, are fit for any service. We will venture to hazard a conjecture, that in June, 1840, there were not 5,000 working people in Manchester, unemployed, and that the remainder were employed either in whole or in part.

Mr. Lester inquires very anxiously what was to be done. Who is to blame for this amount of misery? To the first question we would reply. Let the Ameri-

cans pay their debts to Britain, or at least acknowledge them, and that would do much. To the second, that the Americans, by their speculations in 1835 and 1836, are chiefly to blame.

Mr. Lester gets an answer from number *four*, more congenial to his feelings. "I am persuaded," says he, "that we have the most expensive, and oppressive government in the world; that there is no nation which taxes its labouring classes so heavily; no government which does so much to provoke a revolution, and none where a revolution seems so likely to occur, or where it would be so violent and bloody, when once commenced." This must have been glad news to our Rev. philanthropist. "Parliament has passed laws to regulate the Factory system, but it *is all a dead letter.*" It is strange how dexterously Mr. Lester contrives to make all his characters deviate from the right path, for the Manchester Manufacturer tells us in page 204, "that the Factory Act had been of great service to the apprenticed children," and now says it is "all a dead letter."

Our author brings another important auxiliary against the Factory system, in the person of a Scotch overseer, now resident in this country, (alias number *five*) who assures us, in page 209, "that the operatives are kicked and beat, instead of being reprov'd, that the children never have a chair, or stool to sit on, when

they have a short rest from their work, that he has often seen little girls and women kicked unmercifully for the slightest mistake."

This fellow, if there be such a person, publishes his own shame, in standing by and witnessing such conduct. His statements must be groundless. No set of men would have looked on the commission of such enormities, without interference. In factories, as every where else, disputes may arise, and ill usage be given, but in such cases punishment prompt and decisive will necessarily follow, as already stated.

But hear the length, to which this witness goes, by which his testimony is destroyed. He informs us in page 209, that in the worsted mills, the rooms are heated to 120 of Fahrenheit, and that they are not ventilated, that he could not stay in them, although "a pretty strong man," more than two or three minutes at a time. Can any man believe that either masters or operatives would or could live in such places of torment? He adds, "no person can live long in these factories, the children all die of consumption in a short time." This is a natural and appropriate wind up to such statements.

Leeds and Huddersfield, Bradford and the vicinity, are the chief seats of the woollen manufacture in Yorkshire, and no cities have grown more rapidly, although all the factory children die "of consumption." The Scotch overseer is quite an acquisition to our author. The Irish nobleman, the pale-faced girl, Capt. Man-

ners, and the manufacturer, all contribute their quotas, very fairly to the shame of England ; but this man slays off whole generations.

One murder makes a villain—
Millions make a hero.

We have lately inquired of several gentlemen in this country, respecting the treatment of factory operatives in Great Britain. They all had full opportunity of knowing the facts, and no interest in concealing them. One of these gentlemen had extensive spinning works in Scotland, and he said, "soon after the new factory bill was put in operation, Mr. Stuart of Duncarn, author of the work entitled, "Three Years' Residence in America," called on us, and he said, "I am one of the Commissioners appointed by Government under the authority of the Factory Bill, to inquire into the treatment of the children employed, and in order that the inquiry may be freely made, I request that you and your overseers will leave the mill till it be done." On their withdrawing, Mr. Stuart went to each person, and made most particular inquiry on all the points embraced in the Bill ; and he is well known to be a person who would faithfully and fearlessly perform his duty. After the examination was completed, Mr. Stuart announced to the proprietors that he was quite satisfied, and that no complaint had been made. The gentleman alluded to treated the allegations we have mentioned, as pure fabrications.

We called on a gentleman who deals in wool, and found a number of people engaged in preparing it for being spun. We asked a woman, who had been long in a woollen mill in Newton in Wales, where flannels are extensively manufactured, whether she had ever seen or heard of any person employed in these mills, being strapped, or kicked by the overseers. She seemed surprised, and said—"Oh no, Sir, no such thing," and after a pause added, "have we not magistrates there, who would punish any such thing? the only complaint we ever had, was that the wages were too low, but the manufacturers could not help it, as they were unable from the low prices of flannel to give more." The gentleman at the head of this establishment further informed us, that the hours of labor at Lowell, were longer than in any factory he knew in England, and that he had lately noticed this, to one of the overseers at that place, who remarked that he could not help it, for if he did not keep up these hours, others would.

It might be unnecessary to pursue this matter further, but we cannot omit alluding to the anxious inquiries directed to be made as to the state of health in the manufacturing districts, as reported on by the Commissioners of the "most oppressive government on earth." Very full information on this matter is contained in Mr. McCulloch's statistical work, under the head, "Vital Statistics." We only notice a small part of the interesting details.

It appears that the average annual attacks of sickness of males, employed in the factories of Lancashire, from 11 to 31 years of age, was 27 .08 on every hundred persons, and the average duration of each attack, 16 :43 days. The average annual attacks of sickness among the laborers of the East India Company, was, in a period of ten years, 24 .06 per hundred, and the average duration of each attack, 24 .05 days. This is a favorable result for the Factory system, as it is here compared with a class of labourers, who receive very ample wages, and an allowance during sickness. The average sickness of the Company's *whole* laborers, was 6 .02 days per annum, and in Lancashire 4 .56 days per annum. It is however to be observed, that the Lancashire returns do not contain the sickness of those who died within the year, or fell under chronic diseases, and with these additions, the average sickness will probably reach that of the East India Company's labourers.

A return is also given of the average attacks of sickness of a number of artisans, and apprentices at Wurtzburgh in Germany, which is stated to be 22 .80 per annum, in a hundred. The duration of each attack was not, unfortunately, given, which prevents the comparison being completely carried through. All the individuals in this return belonged to a Friendly society, and it may be presumed they are above the general average, in steadiness of character. Yet the number of attacks of sickness comes nearly up to the Lancashire average.

It further appears, that in all the counties of England and Wales, the average deaths among every hundred inhabitants amount to 2 .21 annually. The average in Lancashire is 2 .40 per annum—being about 8 .12 per cent beyond the general average. When it is considered that in Lancashire are contained, Manchester, Liverpool, Preston, Bolton, Stockport, and other large and overgrown manufacturing and commercial cities, this difference does not appear large. This excess of deaths is fearfully exceeded by the returns of the metropolis; from which it appears that 2 .81 of every hundred males in Surrey die annually, and in Middlesex, 3 .03.

We looked anxiously to the quarter where Mr. Lester assures us almost the whole children of a certain class die of consumption in a short time. The West Riding of Yorkshire contains the chief part of the “worsted mills,” so fatal to life, and yet it appears that the average annual deaths per hundred of males, in that district, is 2 .09, and of females, 1 .98, being about eight per cent. below the average mortality of the whole kingdom—which must for ever silence the Scotch overseer on that matter. We shall now give some

GENERAL STATISTICS CONNECTED WITH THE WORKING CLASSES.

It is a favorite theme with many, to comment on the unfavorable condition of the working classes, as compared with what it was in the olden time. Much light

is thrown on this subject in the work we have already quoted, viz. McCulloch's Statistics. He says, page 584, "The real influence and practical operation of improvements in the arts and sciences, is to be measured by their influence over the condition of the great bulk of the people, and, tried by this test, it will be found, that in Great Britain, as in most other countries, they have been singularly advantageous."

He points out the vast amount of crimes of violence, in former ages, noticing particularly the reign of Henry VIII., where crime had reached to such a height that the country people had to watch over their sheepfolds, pastures, woods and cornfields, on account of the multitude of wicked, wandering, and idle people—that the magistrates were awed by associations, and the threats of confederates, from executing justice on the offenders.

Harrison's account of England, in the reign of Elizabeth, describes the gentry as supplying themselves with wheaten bread, while their household, and poor neighbors, are forced to content themselves with rye, barley, and in some shires, pulse and oats, and even acorns in part. As late as in 1760, it appears from Mr. Charles Smith's Book on the Corn Trade, that at that time, of the six millions of population in England, eight hundred and eighty-eight thousand lived on rye. Mr. McCulloch estimates "that not twenty thousand now taste rye."

"The rye eaters have almost universally been changed into wheat eaters, and except in the county of

Durham, where a mixture of wheat and rye, called maslin, is grown, the culture of rye is almost unknown—nearly the same may be said of the consumption of barley. In the northern counties of England, in the middle of last century, and for long after, very little wheat was used.” “In Cumberland, the principal families used only a small quantity about Christmas. The crust of the Goose pie, with which every family is then supplied, was at the period referred to, almost uniformly made of barley meal. But no such thing is now heard of, even in the poorest houses. Almost all individuals eat wheaten bread, at all times of the year. It is in fact the only bread now tasted by those who live in towns and villages, and mostly also, by those who live in the country.”

“Wheat is now the almost universal bread corn of England; and in some of the manufacturing towns, within the last few years, the use of the inferior sorts of wheaten bread, has been a good deal restricted, and is rejected indeed, by all, but the very lowest and poorest classes.”

Mr. McCulloch then shows the great income, in the consumption of butcher meat, beginning with the metropolis. The population of London for the ten years ending 1750 was about 670,000. The annual amount of cattle sold at Smithfield market, during the same period, was 74,000 head, and of sheep 570,000. In 1831, the population had increased to 1,472,000—and

the consumption of cattle amounted to 156,000, and of sheep to 1,238,000.

In round numbers, the quantity of cattle and sheep consumed seems to have kept pace with the increase of population. But the great increase in the weight of cattle and sheep between the two periods, presents a most satisfactory result, as to the vast addition made to the comfort of the people.

In 1750, the weight of cattle only averaged 370lbs. per head, and of sheep 28lbs., while in 1831 the cattle weighed 800lbs., and the sheep 80lbs., each. From this comparative view, it appears that the consumption of each individual was in the first period 27-8 ounces per day, while in the second it amounts to 6 2-3 ounces, being an increase of more than double. This consumption is exclusive of lamb, veal, pork and fowls which are used to a large extent, and we have no doubt the consumption of them has increased, in proportion to the other articles. We have no later data to give, but we doubt not that there has been no diminution in these proportions since 1831. We hope this amount of butcher's meat for nearly two of the "starving millions," will satisfy Mr. Lester. Mr. McCulloch states that there "is reason to believe that in most other parts of the country, the increase in the consumption of butcher's meat has been even greater."

"In thinly peopled agricultural districts very little is consumed, but in manufacturing and commercial towns it is quite the reverse."

"The improvements that have been made, during the

last half century, in the clothing and lodging of the people of Great Britain." it is added, "are even more remarkable than those that have been made in their food."

In treating of the cotton manufactures, Mr. Baines, of Leeds, says, "It is impossible to estimate the advantages, to the people, from the wonderful cheapness of cotton goods. The humblest classes have now the means of as great neatness, and even gaiety of dress, as the middle and upper classes of the last age. A country wick in the nineteenth century, may display as much finery as a drawing room of the eighteenth, and the peasant's cottage may at this day, with good management, have as handsome furniture for their beds, windows and tables, as the house of a substantial tradesman sixty years ago."

There can be no doubt that the houses of the laboring classes are also improved, and that epidemical disease has been in a great measure banished from large towns in consequence. But much yet remains to be done in this respect. The necessity of cleanliness and ventilation has not been sufficiently felt by the working classes—although there has been some improvement, there are yet, in all crowded cities, both here and in Britain, many who seem insensible to these essential, comforts, and a greater benefit could not be bestowed on society, than to effect an entire cure of these evils.

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH CORN LAWS.

THESE laws have afforded fertile subject for declamation to our author, and many others, both in Britain and America. We shall first quote some of our author's remarks upon them. In volume 1, page 172, he says—"A vast amount of the sufferings and ignorance of the working classes ARE to be directly attributed to the tyrannical corn laws, laws made to enrich the land holders at the expense of the poor. For it is impossible for the poor man in England to pay from his small income, the enormous bread tax, and have enough left to clothe his family, and provide them other necessaries of life." Page 199, the Manufacturer, alias number *four*, says, "the iniquitous corn laws take one third of all the wages of the operatives from them, and put it in the pockets of the land holders. The commonest necessaries of life, in consequence of the bread tax, cost as much again in England, as they do, on the Continent, or in the United States."

And again, in p. 205—in speaking of the Factory laws he says, "They will all be in vain, so long as these same men groan under the weight of the corn laws, and the vast burden of taxation;" and again, in p. 198,

“ I can convince any candid man, that the operatives receive from us enough to make them comfortable, and elevate them a thousand fold above their present condition, if they were not robbed of the greatest part of their wages, to support the aristocracy.” The Scotch overseer, number five, says, “ Some of the English operatives receive nearly as high wages for their work as we pay ; but they work harder for their money, and it will not go more than half as far, (not that I think) in procuring the necessaries of life. Animal food they seldom get. Potatoes and coarse bread being their entire food.” In vol. 2, p. 232, our author says, “ America is also deeply interested in this (the corn) question ; for no man can estimate the advantages we should gain by a repeal of the Corn Laws,” and in page 238, “ What is the effect of the Corn Laws, upon the laboring classes ? starvation.”

In p. 237, “ This nicely contrived device operates with the greatest severity on the poor man ; for through his teeth, he is made to pay, or more properly to be punished, for the offence of being born in England. Persons born since the enactment of the Corn Laws must regard themselves as paying this penalty for having had the audacity to draw their first breath on that oppressed island.” P. 260, “ The bread tax bids fair to work a revolution in England.” P. 257, “ The Corn Laws are destructive to female virtue. There is no nation, savage or civilized, that so wantonly tampers with the prosperity and happiness of its people.”

Our Rev. author thus gives vent to his wholesale vituperations against Britain. Had he stopped there, all might have passed, but unfortunately he gives reasons for his assertions, and we now proceed to try him by his figures.

In page 238, volume 2d, he says, "What do the Corn Laws cost the English people? "When we came to this passage, we were delighted, having a prospect of bringing the question to an issue. To his own question, he gives the following answer. "It is estimated that the consumption of all kinds (of grain) in the kingdom is sixty millions quarters per annum. Twelve years ago, Mr. McCulloch supposed the amount to be only a little less than this, and since then, there has been a great increase of population. The consumption of all other kinds of agricultural produce is, without doubt, equal to the total consumption of grain. Supposing the effect of the Corn Laws to be, to raise the price of grain ten shillings a quarter higher than it would be, were foreign grain freely imported; it follows, that the burden of the bread tax is equal to the enormous sum of three hundred millions of dollars a year—a sum exceeding the whole expenditure of the government, including the interest of the national debt." "But it can be shown to the satisfaction of every reasonable man, that the Corn Laws *nearly double the price of grain*. Mr. G. M. Porter, of the Board of Trade, in his valuable work on this subject, states that the average price of wheat in Prussia, for

the last twenty two years, has been only 31s. 2d. per quarter, while the price during the same period has been 61s. in London."

Oh! that my enemy would write a book!! Let us try this pretender by his own authorities, and by their decision we shall abide. Mr. McCulloch, in the second edition of his valuable Commercial Dictionary published in 1836, which is not quite twelve years ago, estimated the consumption of grain in Britain at fifty-two millions of quarters. Our author says this is near sixty millions, which is but a slight mistake for him. Mr. McCulloch gives very ample information, as to the prices at which grain can be imported into Britain, from the principal shipping ports of Europe and America. We confine ourselves to wheat, as that is the chief article of importation.

Dantzic is the most important port in Europe, for shipping grain, as it sends off the surplus growth of Poland. The average price of wheat, free on board, at that port, taken at Decennial periods, from 1770 to 1819, was 45s. 4d. per imperial quarter. This high average was doubtless owing to the long period of war, included within the range. The average of 1822 to 1831 inclusive, fell to 34s. 1d. per quarter. The cost of importation, ware-housing, &c. is estimated at 10s. making the price in London, independent of profit or British duty 44s. But Mr. M. thinks that under any considerable foreign demand, the price at Dantzic would rise to 40s., making the price 50s. at London.

Mr. Jacob's returns to the British government shew, that at the lowest possible rate, wheat could not be sent from Warsaw, at less than 28s., nor brought to London under 48s. per quarter.

The average price of wheat at Hamburg for ten years, previous to 1831, was 26s. 6d., but the quality is 7s. inferior to Dantzic, and allowing for that difference, the prices of both will be about the same.

The port of Odessa ships a considerable quantity of wheat, the growth of the shores of the Black Sea. The price is much lower there than any where else, as it can often be put on board at 16s. per quarter. But the quality is very poor, being worth 10s. per quarter less than Dantzic or the best English wheat. The expense of freight and charges is from 16s. to 19s. per quarter, and bringing it to the Dantzic standard, it would cost 44 or 45s.

Mr. McCulloch estimates the average price of wheat at New York, and Philadelphia, at 37 to 40s.—and if the freight and charges amount to 10 or 12s. he does not suppose that any considerable quantity could be expected from that quarter, unless wheat was from 50 to 52s. in England. It further appears, that the average price of wheat at Paris, as reported by Garnier, from 1801 to 1819, was 45s. 6d. per quarter. Count Chaptal, in a work entitled, "L'Industrie de France," published in 1819, estimates the average price through France, at 18 francs the hectolitre, or 42s. 10d. per quarter.

Mr. McCulloch, after going over the ground of foreign importations, very fully, arrives at the conclusion that wheat of the Dantzic standard cannot be imported under 47 or 48s., and that with a duty of 6 or 7s. it could not of course be sold under 53 or 54s. This view is entirely drawn from the the *low* averages already noticed, without making any allowance for the advance, which will unquestionably take place if the British ports were opened to a free trade in corn. It is only necessary to notice the great influence upon the price, in years when wheat was admitted into Britain, on a low duty. The price at Dantzic in 1822 was 30s. 3d; in 1823 27s. 9d.; in 1824 23s. 8d.; in 1825 24s. 2d.; in 1826 25s. 1d.; in 1827 26s. 11d.; in 1828 37s. 1d.; in 1829 47s. 1d; in 1830 42s. 2d.; in 1831 50s. 2d. In the first six years, it will be observed that the price is very low. In these years the crops were generally good in Britain, and the importations small. In one year (1822) none was imported. In the four last years, the crops were deficient, and the importations large, particularly in 1830 and 1831. In this last year, nearly three millions and a half of quarters of different kinds of grain were imported by Britain being the largest that ever took place. In a new edition of Mr. McCulloch's work, it appears that the average price of wheat in Britain from 1833 to 1838, was 51s. 3d. per quarter. The average price in France from 1819 to 1836 was 40s. 1d. per quarter. Mr. M. says that for six years from 1832 to 1837, the average price in

Great Britain, was 50s. 2d., “ and we are bold to say, that not a tittle of evidence has been, or can be produced to show, that this price would have been reduced 5s. a quarter, had the ports been all the while opened to unconditional importations, from abroad.”*

In our opinion nothing can be more conclusive. It has been shown that Dantzic wheat cannot be imported under 44s., and American not under 50s.— or an average of 47s. per quarter. Now the British average for six years ending in 1838, was 51s. 3d., being only 4s. 3d. beyond what it could have been furnished from abroad, without taking any advance in the foreign market into account. It is quite evident that under a free corn trade, the difference between the price at any foreign port, and the price at Britain, could never be greater than the expense of freight, and to her charges from the one country to the other. The moment a greater difference should arise, exportation would take place, and when a less difference existed, it would stop.

Our Rev. author says that a loss of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars will accrue, if even 10s. per

* We have only brought our Corn averages down to 1838, which is the latest period given by Mr. McCulloch. The average price of wheat was much higher in 1839 and 1840, from the unusually short crops. These therefore cannot be fairly taken, except in a much wider range of time. The prices were indeed so high during those years, that the import duty must have been frequently almost nominal, and yet the foreign importation was not able materially to keep down the price. The deficient crops in the United States in 1838 and 1839, which required her to be aided by importation, will in part account for this state of things.

quarter more than the proper price is paid, calculating sixty millions of quarters to be consumed. Now we have already shown that only a difference of 4s. 3d. has accrued on recent averages. But taking it at Mr. McCulloch's mark of 5s. and considering that wheat does not form one quarter of the grain consumed, we may estimate the whole at an average of 3s. per quarter.

But then, although Mr. Lester has quoted Mr. McCulloch as his authority, he throws him overboard, when it suits his purpose, for he does not notice that that laborious and able author calculates, that *one half* of the grain raised in Britain never reaches the market, but is consumed by the agriculturists for their families, for cattle, seed, &c. This only makes an abatement of one half, therefore is not worthy the attention of a generalizer of Mr. Lester's dimensions.

In our view, the loss from 1832 to 1838, will be as follows: Thirty millions of quarters at 3s.—Four and a half millions sterling, or twenty-two and a half millions of dollars per annum, instead of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, as the round numbers of our author make it.

But this is only Mr. Lester's *low* calculations, as he makes a statement, that in Prussia, wheat has been selling at 31s. 2d. average, for a long period, while it has been 61s. in Britain, and that therefore, the corn laws have *doubled* the price. Now did the Rev. calculator expect that the corn could be conveyed from the *interior* of Prussia, to Britain, without expense? How could it

be done for less than 15 to 17s. per quarter ? Did the author never hear of the produce of Ohio being sold at Cincinnati for 60 cents, which would fetch in New York one dollar ; or of potatoes being sold in the interior of the state of New York for less than one half of what they would bring at New York ? It is really a pity for figures to come in, and disturb so well built a system, after our author had labored so hard with inferior matter, and had arrived at the most satisfactory conclusions that the price was *doubled*. It was so even a number, so very round, that it is a shame to destroy it.

But hear another calculation equally sweeping. The enhanced price of sixty millions of Corn, he says, is only half of the *bread tax*. Now this is puzzling, as sixty millions is the grain of all kinds which can be made into bread. Agriculture produces cattle, sheep, wool, cheese, butter, &c. But if Mr. Lester meant this, he would have called it a beef, a mutton, or a butter tax, and not a bread tax. Where our author got this calculation we know not. It was not from Mr. McCulloch. He does not say it was from the Irish Nobleman, the Rose Girl, or the Manchester Manufacturer. We therefore conclude he has drawn on his own genius for it. All those other articles of agricultural consumption are admitted into Britain on very moderate duties, some of those below those levied by the United States, as we shall afterwards show. The highest duty proposed to be charged on, wheat, by the

advocates of a fixed duty is 6 to 8s. per quarter, being about the same rate as in the United States, where the duty on wheat is 25 cents per bushel. Irish provisions are raised so cheap that no great quantity could be sent into Britain, from any other quarter, although the duty was taken off.

Let us now see, what Mr. Lester's view of the bread tax in *his most comprehensive meaning*, would amount to.

Say 60 millions quarters of grain, at 30s. being the half price of wheat, would be 90 millions sterling, as he supposes the whole sixty millions to be wheat, but to reduce it all to the average of the different kinds of grain,

Suppose 60 millions at 18s. per quarter,	£54,000,000
An equal amount on beef and other agri-cultural produce,	54,000,000

£108,000,000

or Five Hundred and Forty Millions of Dollars.

Prodigious! If Mr. Lester could only be made Chancellor of the Exchequer for a few years, he might with such savings, pay off the National Debt. His name will descend to posterity with a brilliancy for an able financier and exact calculator, which even Neckar himself might envy, if he were alive.

Seriously, we would rejoice to see Britain make the trade of corn free at all times, without duty, and we are satisfied that the Whig ministry would have done

so if they could, except from the necessity of making up a deficient revenue. We think the bulky nature of the article a sufficient protection from the expense of transport, which must inevitably be incurred. This would prevent the fluctuations in a great measure occasioned by bad crops. The farmer would know more certainly what rent he ought to pay, and the landlord would be more certain of receiving the amount.

That those who contend so loudly for the repeal of the corn laws greatly over-estimate the effects which would follow from them, is no reason why they should not be repealed. The measure would tranquilize the public mind, and that is a matter of no small importance. It is exceedingly probable, that such a change would open up a large trade in grain, with the United States. This could not have been to any extent, till within the last two years, although there had been no corn laws in Britain. Therefore the noise and clamor that has pervaded the States, and run through many of the newspapers about "wicked, cruel, and unjust British corn laws," are alike insolent and absurd.

So recently as in 1837, the United States imported above three million bushels of wheat, and even in 1838 the country was so short of the staff of life, as to import 894,000 bushels. Since then, there can be no doubt that a much larger breadth of land has been brought under cultivation, which is a natural consequence of the high prices of 1837 and 1838. It

probable that the country will ever after be able to export grain to a considerable extent, and carry on a most beneficial traffic with that country, which is doomed to revolution, and destruction, under the judicial sentence of the amiable and benevolent author of the "Glory and the Shame of England."

CHAPTER VI.

TAXATION ON THE WORKING CLASSES IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

We shall now attempt to estimate the taxation on the laboring man in England.

We have shown that the difference between the price of wheat in England and in France, is only 20 per cent. in favor of the latter, (although we had been assured that every thing was half price on the continent) and from 20 to 25 per cent. in favor of America. So that all the fearful pressure of these corn laws is reduced to a very small amount. We have arrived at the conclusion that the corn laws may have raised the price of wheat 5s. a quarter, which is one-tenth of the whole price at 50s. in an average of ordinary crops.

Now, suppose a man, with a family of a wife and two young children, to consume four loaves of bread per week, at 9d. each—the annual amount is £7 16.

On which 10 per cent is.	£0 15 7
Add tax on 12 lbs. tea, at 1s. 6d.	0 18 0
“ “ 52 lbs. sugar, at 24s. per cwt.	0 11 1
Taxes on malt, soap, and sundry articles.	0 10 0
	<hr/>
	£2 14 8

being 13s. 8d. for each individual.

In order to test the accuracy of these calculations, we have gone carefully over the various items of the annual taxes paid in Britain, and find in the year 1838, the whole amount was £51,720,762. Of these, the gross amount applicable to the laboring man and his family, is £20,830,741. The remainder are either taxes on articles, used only by the other classes of the community, or such articles as are generally considered pernicious. In this last class is included tobacco and spirits.

The various articles comprehended in the sum of £20,830,741 are, tea, coffee, sugar, malt, hops, soap, paper, glass, timber, cotton, &c. By the return of 1841, the population of Britain and Ireland was 27 millions. Supposing it to have been 26 millions in 1838, this would give 16s. 4d. for each individual's proportion of this sum. But there are taxes in this list, such as glass, timber, &c. to which the working man does not contribute to great extent, and even on tea and sugar, higher duties are paid by the other classes, as they consume the more expensive kinds of these articles. It is evident that the working man's proportion will not amount to the average of 16s. and that 8s. is probably nearer the mark. But supposing *two-thirds* of the average to be his proportion, it will amount to 10s. 8d. for each individual, or £2. 2. 8. for a family of four. To this must be added 15s. 7d. being the estimate of additional cost on bread, from the effect of the corn laws, and the whole will be as follows:

Family of husband, wife and two children,		
at 10s. 8d. each,	- - - -	£2 2 8
Corn tax,	- - - -	0 15 7
		<hr/>
		*£2 18 3
Former estimate,	- - -	2 14 8
		<hr/>
Excess,	- - -	£0. 3. 7

This, it will be observed, exceeds the former estimate by 3s. 7d. and we are convinced that it will bear the strictest scrutiny, and that it is beyond the mark, rather than within it.

We must inquire what proportion the sum of £2. 18. 3, bears to the income of a laborer in England. We shall first take for a standard, the class employed in the cotton manufacture, as it is very large in amount, is the worst paid class in the community, and has been most frequently referred to by our author, in giving his exhibitions of the poverty of the people, and of the vast amount of taxation they have to pay.

We again refer to Mr. McCulloch, who estimates the number of people employed in the cotton manufacture as weavers, spinners, bleachers, &c. at 800,000. and that their average wages are £22 10 per annum, but as a large proportion of the number are children and women, the wages of a grown man must considerably exceed the average. We may safely deduct 250,000 for women and children, and taking their

* This is 14s. 6½d. or \$3 .64 for each individual.

average wages at £12 per annum, it will leave £27. 5. 5. to each of the remaining 550,000. Mr. McCulloch estimates that besides the 800,000, there are 100,000 employed in the same business as engineers, machine makers, smiths, masons, joiners, &c. at £30 per annum, which is certainly much below the average of wages earned by such tradesmen, in other departments. The workmen of Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. even in times of great depression, have wages far beyond these rates, and the great mass of carpenters, masons, smiths, &c. have more than double that amount. If these were to be thrown into the scale with the manufacturers, the average rates would be raised at least fifty to sixty per cent.

In the same work, is a scale of wages paid at Greenwich Hospital for a hundred years back. By this, it appears, that for the years from 1819 to 1835, the average wages of brick-layers was 4s. 10½d. per day; carpenters 5s. 4d.; masons 5s. 3d.; and plumbers 5s. 6½d. which in New York currency is from 9s. 9d. to 11s. 1d. That this average has not declined of late years, appears from the fact that for the last five years of the period, viz. from 1831 to 1835, the wages of the descriptions of tradesmen above mentioned, were respectively 5s. 5d.—4s. 9d.—5s. 3d. and 5s. 3d. and there is no reason to believe, that any material alteration has taken place since. It also appears, that in the period from 1819 to 1835, the Hospital has been supplied with bread (of course of the best quality) at

$1\frac{12}{16}$ penny per pound, being less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, which is lower than the price in New York at the present moment. In an estimate of the working man's loaf of 4lbs. we have taken it at 9d. while the loaf at Greenwich is only 7d. We were aware that 9d. was rather above the mark, as 7d. is considerably below it, that noble Institution being supplied by contract, probably from 15 to 20 per cent. below the ordinary retail prices.

We have already ascertained the taxes on the working classes to amount to 14s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each individual. Applying this principle to the large class of cotton weavers, spinners, &c. whose income is £27. 5. 5. per annum, it will be found, that it will amount to 10s per cent. on a family of four. Apply the rule to a family of the same size, whose head is a tradesman of one of the kinds employed at Greenwich Hospital, which may be assumed as the general rates in London and its vicinity, and it will not amount to 4 per cent. of the annual income. We may fairly state, without fear of challenge, that the taxes paid by a working man in England, do not exceed 4 to 11 per cent. on his income.

In making up these statements, as already noticed, we have thrown out of consideration two taxes, to which many of the working classes contribute too largely, viz. tobacco and spirits. In defending the charge of heavy duties, laid by the Government on the necessaries and comforts of the working class, we

did not conceive it necessary to include articles which are neither necessities nor comforts, and which are now very generally considered pernicious. Now, if we have approached the truth in these calculations, which we are fully satisfied we have, what must become of all our author's allegations about the bread tax taking one-third of the working man's income, and of the Manchester porter who paid almost his whole income for taxes, and numberless other allegations? All calumny—got up to make his book sell with ignorant and narrow-minded people, who can see nothing good beyond the sphere of their own contracted experience or observation.

It is deeply to be regretted that the necessities of the country should even require so considerable a part of any working man's income as ten per cent. It was a favorite object of the Whig ministry, to make every possible reduction on taxes affecting the working classes. The leather tax, the salt tax, the beer tax, half the soap tax, and many others, have been abolished within the last few years. Were it possible, without injustice to the national creditor, "the most oppressive Government on earth" would have gladly taken off every tax that touched the poor man.

How sincerely desirous they were of giving the freest vent to public opinion, is proved by their reduction of the tax on newspapers, to less than one-third of its amount. And the total change effected in the Post Office system, is one of the greatest triumphs of

modern legislation. Letters can now travel the whole extent of Britain and Ireland, for one penny each. When did an oppressive Government ever encourage such free communication over the country under its sway? It is only a Government conscious that they have no other end in view but the good of the mass of the community, that would take such a step. The amount of safe, cheap, and speedy communication now existing in Britain, never existed before in any nation in the world.

Contrast this with an American house of legislation, carrying a bill up to the very last stage, only a few years ago, granting powers to every post-master to destroy whatever papers he might choose to think inflammatory. This would have established a Court of Inquisition more arbitrary and more extensive than was ever witnessed in the darkest ages of Spain or Italy. For the honor of the country, this atrocious attempt was defeated, although by the narrowest possible majority. But what regard or understanding of the great rights of man could exist in a body which could have carried such a measure so far, or what knowledge of liberty could exist in a country quietly looking on while such a measure was so nearly being perpetrated. Doubtless Mr. Lester has been on his knees on account of this measure, thankful that he was born an American!!!

We shall now make some inquiry into the effect on the working man of *The taxes in the United States.*

TAXES IN THE UNITED STATES.

We make no article on this head for the duties chargeable on grain, although it is but very recently that grain was imported to a great extent, and the price must have been affected by these duties, during years of importation. Neither shall we make any statement of the loss on other articles of agricultural produce, from the duties payable upon them. The duty on almost every article of that kind is nearly equal, and on some greatly superior to what it is in England, as will be shown under a separate head.

We shall take a family of the same kind as in England, viz. a laborer, his wife, and two young children. Supposing them to use the same quantity of sugar as those in England, the result will be,

Tax on 52lbs sugar, at 3 cts.	-	-	-	1	56
“ on 3½ yds. broadcloth, at \$1,	-	-	-	3	50
“ on 20 yds. calico, at 4½ cts.	-	-	-	-	90
“ on sundries, such as stockings, gloves, threads, laces, &c.	-	-	-	1	00
					<hr/>
				\$6	96

This appears a very moderate estimate; but supposing the population to amount to 15 millions after deducting two millions for the live property of the South, who do not consume many foreign articles, it will produce a larger proportion of customs duties than is actually paid. We shall therefore reduce this to \$5

or one and a quarter dollar for each individual, which is \$18,750,000 for the whole customs duties. When reducing the duties on foreign goods, payable by each person, we are compelled either to arrive at the conclusion, that the great mass of the people consume a less quantity of foreign articles than are generally considered essential to comfort, or that the duties are much evaded.

We shall not give any opinion, as to which is the correct solution of this difficulty.

But the duties on foreign goods are the smallest part of the burdens imposed on the working-man. The effect of the duties levied on foreign articles, greatly increases the price of articles of domestic manufacture. The heavy duties on cotton goods, which ranged from 50 to a 100 per cent. before the operation of Mr. Clay's Bill commenced, and the duties on woollen goods of fifty per cent. must have seriously affected the comforts of the working classes. Little does he think, when he puts on his new suit of clothes, or the wife her calico dress, that so large a proportion of the price goes into the pockets of the customs collector, or the Eastern manufacturer.

Whatever is necessary for the purposes of revenue, no man of reflection, will for one moment suppose ill-spent. Those who serve the nation in its civil, military, or naval departments have given as just and legitimate value for the money they receive, as the mechanic who

sells his labour, or the merchant his goods. But it is worse than disgusting to hear the tens of thousands of ignorant beings for ever boasting that there are no taxes in the United States.

The tax on coal we must specially notice, as severely affecting the working classes. The duty, formerly 50 per cent. is still about 30 per cent. Such a duty must seriously raise the price of an article, which is absolutely indispensable for every family.

It is impossible with accuracy to estimate the effect of the premature encouragement given to domestic manufactures. Mr. McCulloch estimates that the loss to the United States before 1832, was 55 to 65 millions dollars annually—say 60,000,000. We suppose the operation of the tariff has lowered this loss to one half, or 30,000,000 per annum. But then the addition of one third must be added for the increased population, which will bring up the loss at the present day to \$40,000,000.

We have no means of knowing the value of articles manufactured in the United States.

In the year 1836 to 1837, the manufactured goods of Massachusetts, amounted to seventy-seven millions of dollars. We think that the whole manufactures of the United States will not exceed three times that amount. And deducting eleven millions for the amount exported, it will leave two hundred and twenty millions for the value of domestic manufactures consumed in the coun-

try, including expense of making up foreign articles.* If we suppose that twenty per cent. has been added to the price, by the duties laid on foreign goods, this makes a loss to the country of sixty-four millions dollars. Seventeen millions of population at two and a half dollars each, will give forty-two and a half millions.

We think this may be reasonably assumed, as the average loss by the increased price of manufactured goods, which to a family of four, would amount to ten dollars—but as such a family will not consume so much as others of a more wealthy kind, we shall take this at \$7 50—being three fourths of the average rate. Suppose such a family to consume three tons of coal, at eight dollars per ton, and that the duty on foreign coal raises the general price ten per cent., this will operate as a tax to the amount of two dollars and forty cents.

But the heaviest tax of all is the effect of the currency laws. The loss estimated by all classes of the community by the depreciation and worthlessness of the paper currency, is enormous. A comparatively small part of the money passed from hand to hand for family purposes, is at par. It ranges generally from three fourths to five per cent. discount. Constant failures of banks are taking place, and forged bills, and bills of banks failed long ago, are passed in retail trans-

* Since the above was written we have compared this estimate with the last census returns, and find that it substantially agrees with them; the manufactures liable to be effected by foreign imports considerably exceeding two hundred millions of dollars.

actions, and the loss falls often on those who are ill able to bear it. We shall certainly be within the mark, if we calculate this at five per cent. on the expenditure of each person. The loss either from a depreciated currency and consequent advance on the price of articles or direct loss by the sales of bills, will certainly not be below that amount.

It is truly lamentable to see the deplorable manner in which this part of the national business is managed. Safety Fund, Red Back, and every kind of minute plan has been devised, and all have been ineffectual, as must invariably be the case when narrow and trifling legislation is applied to an extensive and important question. The true and only remedy is to allow no bank to go into operation, without every one of the partners being made responsible in all their private property, and to allow no bank to issue bills, without a large paid up capital—no partner to sell out without advertising in several newspapers. These simple principles would at once bring the banking system into a safe and advantageous state. The very danger to bank partners under such regulations, generally brought forward as an objection, would insure a wise and faithful management, and in a short time, no fears would be entertained of becoming a partner in an institution, which would of course receive a most diligent system of watchfulness, and have the entire confidence of the community.

Suppose the income of a labourer, at one dollar per day, it amounts, per annum, to \$305 00

Taxes by duties on foreign goods, - - -	\$5 00
Taxes on domestic goods, arising from operation of Tariff, - - - - -	7 50
Taxes on coals, - - - - -	2 40
Five per cent. on Income by loss on <i>tariffs</i> .	15 40
	<hr/>
	\$30 30

This amounts to nearly ten per cent. of his income, lost by the operation of the laws, and but a small part of it paid on account of expenses of government. This gives an amount of £1 Mk. for each individual, while a person in such a situation in England, pays only 14s. 6 3-4d.

The income of the person we have now taken is considerably below the class of masons and carpenters, and many other branches of business in England, while the taxes of the one, or the effects of the laws of the country imposes a double burden on this side of the water. If we compare the class of masons and carpenters in this country, with those in England, the result will not be in favor of this country. The wages given here, are from 10 to 12s. per day, New York currency, which may be a little above the English wages. But the vast difference of house rent, chiefly arising from the enormous local taxes, consumes a large

part of the working man's income, and the price of coals is from double, to five times greater here than in Britain.

On the other hand bread is generally 20 to 25 per cent. ; tea, 40, and sugar 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper in America. Where the wages are nearly equal, the working man's money will go farther, and produce him more comfort, in England than in America. It is to be lamented that there is a very considerable proportion of the working people of England who from low wages do not receive such a proportion of comforts as they would require.

We think we have distinctly shown that the government and laws of that country are in no shape to blame for this state of things. We have farther shown that if many of the working classes enjoy advantages here, it does not arise from the government or laws, which have imposed heavier burdens on the working man here, than in the old country.

The local taxes in the United States which we have not taken into account, are much more heavy than in Britain. The tax on property, which includes personal or moveable property laid on in New York, is both erroneous in principle and heavy in amount, and besides the tax on foreign salt, the poor man's salt is heavily taxed both in New York and Pennsylvania, by the State Legislatures.*

* It will scarcely be credited in Europe, that the local taxes of New York City, amount in round numbers to one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, being 16s. 8d. sterling, or above four dollars for each man, woman, and child. This is very

While on this subject, we cannot help noticing the Hobson's Choice given to the citizens of this state, either to be a soldier, to draw a fire engine, or become a juryman. The soldier or militia man's service, we think no hardship. Every man who loves his country, should not grudge a small part of his time to qualify him to defend it; although there is no risk of the country ever again encountering an enemy, if their own folly does not convert into enemies those who are sincerely desirous of being their friends; and the military spirit should not be too much encouraged.

The firemen we always look on with compassion. They are a doomed race. The whole system is the worst that can be conceived. It contains unmixed elements of disorder, and mischief, which are necessarily forever developing themselves. If the act establishing it had been entitled "an act for the more effectually demoralizing a number of promising young men, and for inflicting as much annoyance as possible on the people of New York," it would have been most appropriate. We trust many escape the contagion, but we contend that its construction and tendencies are decidedly mischievous. It is not possible that a system so far behind the age can continue much longer.

far beyond the amount of taxes paid by any city in Britain of the same extent. The taxes of Glasgow, which contains about the same number of inhabitants as New York, certainly do not amount to one third of this sum.

The duty of a juryman in this state is most oppressive. This duty ought to be regarded as a privilege, and not a burden. Wisely administered, it is one of the most valuable institutions of a free country. The length of time jurymen are kept from their business, owing to the narrowness of the jury list, and the unnecessary length of trials, imposes a burden on that class of the community greater than the amount of all the taxes, on men of the same income in England. This is a strong statement, but it admits of proof.

The time consumed in elections in this country is another serious tax. The frequency of their return has occasioned a class of men to be formed who seem to have nothing else to do than to attend to politics. If the amount of time spent in a year about elections, were calculated, it would be found to diminish by a vast sum the value of the productive labor of the country. Much capital might be accumulated, which is lost from this cause. We are only speaking of unnecessary time; for the country has a claim to a certain portion of each man's time to attend to public affairs. Other duties will tell him when to stop. Those who exceed that limit, are generally least qualified to assist in the management of public affairs.

CHAPTER VII.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN COMMERCIAL SYSTEMS.

WE begin by examining Mr. Lester's statements about the ruin of British commerce. In reference to Britain, Mr. Lester, in vol. 2d, page 264, says: "her monopolizing policy has recoiled upon herself, and now she cannot find a market for half she is able to produce, and her manufactures are fast declining. The facts of the case are most astonishing, and in our country but little known."

What a mercy it is that such a splendid genius has arisen to illuminate the Western Hemisphere! Again he says, "By her refusing to receive the corn of Europe and America, these countries are no longer able to purchase her goods; and from being her customers, they have turned to be her rivals. English exports have fallen off rapidly." Let us see again, whether the Rev. author be speaking correctly. In the year 1836, ending fifth January, 1837, Britain and Ireland exported the vast amount of domestic manufactured goods and produce alone, of £53,293,979, real value. In 1837, chiefly from the great decline in the American demand, her exports fell to £42,069,245.

But from the buoyancy of British enterprise, in the very next year, 1838, the exports rose again to £50,060,970, and in the following year the ground she had lost was almost entirely recovered, as the exports of England alone amounted to £52,701,509; and if Ireland exported the same as in the previous year, the total will be £53,121,583.

The void thus occasioned by the reverse in the American trade, was nearly filled up in two years, partly from the revival of that trade, but more considerably, from an increase in other quarters. And thus ends Mr. Lester's "fast declining exports."

This revival of trade shows the absurdity of the allegation about 40,000 operatives being out of employment in Manchester, in June 1840, and it is apparent, that the more recent distresses have been chiefly confined to those houses which have suffered from the consequences of the American speculations of 1835 and '6.*

But our author becomes more particular in the facts, which are "little known". "In 1833 she sent to various parts of the world, 8,000,000 yards of velveteen, and in 1835 only half that quantity." What a Solon! How could velveteens be sold, when they were going out of fashion?

Now, in 1833, the exports of British manufactures, were £39,305,000, and in 1836, £53,293,979. So

* Paisley, where the recent distress has fallen heaviest, has been principally manufacturing for the American market, and her manufacturers have been ruined by that connection.

Mr. Lester may be easy about his velveteens. But again, he says, "Britain in 1833 exported of cotton goods to Germany, 29,500,000 yards. In 1838 only one quarter as much." As cotton goods are a great article of export to that country, the cursory reader will naturally suppose, that the exports to Germany had fallen off to a quarter of their previous amount. Now the fact is, that in 1833 Britain exported to Germany, manufactures to the amount of £4,355,000, and in 1838 to the amount of £4,988,000, being an increase of fifteen per cent.

A still more extraordinary statement remains. "The quantity (of cotton goods) sent to Russia in 1820, was 13,200,000 yards; in 1837 (we suppose our author means 1827) only 847,000, and in 1837 not one yard." Now, in 1837, Britain exported to Russia, of white or plain cotton, 980,779 yards, and of printed or dyed cottons, 145,760 yards. The total declared or real value of all the cotton exports to Russia that year, where, we are informed, not one yard was exported, was £1,669,855. The total exports of all kinds to the same quarter, was £2,046,592.

We are then told "that in 1815 England supplied the whole commercial world with hosiery; but in 1838, while she sent 447,000 dozens to the West Indies, Saxony sent a million and a half." We have no means of checking the accuracy of this statement, although we doubt not that it would exhibit the author's usual correctness. We know, however, that

the gross exports to the British and Foreign West Indies, were, in 1833, £3,356,345, and in 1838, £4,350,129, being an increase of about thirty per cent. in five years.

We are farther told "that throughout the continent, manufactures of almost every kind are springing up; and there is not a country there, that does not bristle with steam engines, and factory chimnies."

Why did not our author go over, and get some German nobleman to show him the curiosities of the system, which is so emphatically condemned in England? If the Germans are underselling England, it must be under the disadvantage of inferior capital and machinery, and can only be effected by wages being a great deal lower there, than in England. Really he should deal his favors more equally. Has he no feelings for the poor German operatives? Oh! no. Nor would he have expressed any for the English, excepting for the opportunity it afforded of bringing a railing accusation against England and her government.

But our author again states, "many of these nations are now England's powerful rivals." And why not? A nation so proud, so unjust, and oppressive, the sooner she is pulled down the better. We entreat the Rev. author not to take on so sadly. "Within the last two years they have exported their goods to Britain, paid heavy duties, and undersold the English manufacturer on his own ground." Now we wish our traveler had been a little more particular about the kinds of goods, and value, that he alludes to.

But he is right for once. He has been so unfortunate in his *facts*, that he has on this occasion, abstained from giving any. Well would it have been for him, if he had poured out the vials of his puny indignation against Britain, without giving these particular statements, for they are highly dangerous, as we have often shown. If before commencing his book he had consulted a friend, he might have received from him the advice once given to a judge, who had just been raised to the bench, and who was little distinguished for his wisdom, or legal knowledge. "Now sir, (said this judicious friend,) when you give a decision, never give any reasons; your judgments may pass without note or comment, but if you attempt to give *rationes decidendi*, you are undone."

But to return to the subject, it must be matter of sincere delight, that the long period of peace which has existed on the continent of Europe, is beginning to produce its legitimate effects on the habits of the people. So long an interval of peace has not occurred for several centuries, and security of property and industrious habits, are now taking the place of a state of war, and all the evils which for ever attend it. How much more desirable must it be, to every friend of the human race, to see those regions bristling with steam engines, which used to bristle with cannon and musquetry, and all the murderous appliances of war.*

* It has been customary with the advocates of Protection, to point to the results of the Prussian League, as affording undenia-

If the industrious and steady Germans can send cheaper hosiery into the West Indies, than the British, let them do so, by all means. The West Indies cannot take their hosiery and pay for them, but by sending them in return, additional supplies of sugar or of coffee, and both parties will be benefitted by the transaction. And if they undersell the British manufacturer, in his own home market, let them do so. They can only get payment, by taking some article that Britain can furnish cheaper than her German neighbors. There is no other way of settling the account. The Germans will not be asked, neither can they afford to take state bonds, and bank shares, in return. Britain can alone afford to carry on that trade, but it is now "used up," as they say in America.

But how contradictory is this allegation of Britain getting German goods, thrown into the home market, to the statements we for ever hear about British restrictions. Does our author not see, that this statement is in direct contradiction to his often repeated allegations ?

ble evidence of the advantage of keeping out foreign goods. And the improvements which have lately taken place in Germany, in manufactures and agriculture, and the rise in the value of land, are triumphantly pointed at as the result of the restrictive system. Now we arrive at quite an opposite conclusion, being of opinion, that the country has improved in spite of the restrictive system. Other and more powerful causes, which we have noticed above have produced these beneficial and natural results. And we trust it will be long before this happy state of things is disturbed.

Our author says, page 255, "Every American knows that we can manufacture every thing we want." Why don't you do it then? Just simply, because you have not the means, for want of capital and population. Why not begin by building a steamboat to cross the Atlantic, which we are in ever anxious about, as just being begun? "American manufactures against the world," was inscribed on the gate of the annual exhibition at New York. Such acts of silly bombast only throw an air of ridicule over institutions, in themselves most praiseworthy, for exciting the industry and mechanical talent of this young country.

Again we are told that "to protect our manufactures, and defend ourselves against her exclusive legislation, we have imposed heavy duties upon goods, and as she seems determined to pursue a line of policy, so suicidal to herself, and so injurious to others, when our heaviest duties on her commodities were about to cease, Congress has deemed it expedient to renew them." Now where did our most veritable author get this news? It never came from Washington. Congress has not voted the high duties to be continued. It has wisely allowed the operation of Mr. Clay's bill to go on, till the duties are reduced to 20 per cent. ad valorem, and placed the same rate of duty, (with the exception of a few articles,) on such goods as were formerly admitted free of duty. These new duties were placed, not as a protection, but to raise a reve-

nue, which the necessities of the country require. A more judicious course could not have been adopted, and we trust it will not be disturbed by any after proceedings.

But here our author comes again ; “ If the duties we impose (what duties ?) inflict keener sorrows upon the tortured English operatives, we are not to blame ; England has driven us to it—we should be insane, not to guard ourselves against her destructive enactments. It was a long time before our importers saw the folly of sending away millions of specie every year, for English goods, while she refused to receive our grain in payment. But they do see, and feel it now, and it will be long before we are again cursed with the enormous importations of 1835 and 1836.” We cry you mercy, most Rev. author, we must inquire first, on whose head the curse has fallen. War, famine, and pestilence, are universally admitted to be unqualified evils, but a great supply of valuable commodities entrusted on the faith of national honor and integrity, can only be converted into a curse, by the abuse of the confidence reposed in her. But be not uneasy, this kind of curse will not occur again speedily. The credit of the States must be better, before Britain will send sixty-two millions and a half of goods in one year.

It appears that, notwithstanding Britain has destroyed her trade, by her horrid and unjust duties, (“ Oh ! the folly, the madness of English statesmen”—page 269)

she still has some trade, even with the United States. By the annual statement of American trade, ending September, 1840, the United States exported \$132,000,000, and imported only \$107,000,000, leaving a balance of \$25,000,000 as excess of exports.

The Evening Post (Nov. 1841) says, the excess of our exports was nearly all in trade, with Great Britain. It is added, "our trade with Great Britain and France takes about two-thirds of all our exports, and employs about one-third of the shipping employed in foreign trade." Again, what horrid things these figures are. How they break in on the calculations of such a political economist as Mr. Lester. We would advise him to study the exact science of mathematics, before publishing his next work.

How gratifying it must be, to those who have been so seriously lamenting that Americans received every thing from abroad, and sent nothing in exchange, that they are at last in the way of making money by these transactions, having actually sent away twenty-five millions more than they have received, in the course of the last year, of which we yet have a return.

We lately saw a published report of a speech by Gen. Tallmadge, at the National Institute, in which it is gravely asserted, that millions of gold are annually sent to France for her manufactures, and that France takes no goods in return. How is it possible for the American public to swallow such nonsense, in opposi-

tion to the official statements from their own authorities, regularly laid before the world.

In a late New York newspaper, was an *ad captandum* article, showing that there was not a material of any kind, either for use, or for manufactures, which America did not produce, and that in a short time, she would not only manufacture every thing for her own use, but go into every market which Britain has for her goods, and take the whole trade. As she is possessed of every thing at home, it follows that for these vast exports, she neither can, nor will take any thing in return. Now, here is a plan, at least most disinterested, and benevolent, which throws an entirely new light on American character. She will feed and clothe the world, all for love. We hope she does not intend to leave Britain out of her scheme, but that when under the influence of this sudden and unwonted generosity, she will make her benevolence as extended, as it is extraordinary.

But before carrying this plan into execution, it might be prudent to inquire, whether she will not injure the recipients of her bounty, by the idleness which her generosity will occasion. Probably the rest of mankind might be employed in music, painting, and other branches of the Fine Arts, if the philanthropy, or spirit of competition of the United States, will allow her friends even to retain these employments. But seriously, there is in the present aspect of the public matters of this country, much to awaken the

most anxious attention of all who really wish to see her prosperous.

We subjoin a statement of the Exports and Imports of the United States, for the last twenty years; with the excess on each side.

TABLE NO. 1.

Table of Exports and Imports from 30th September 1820, to 30th September 1840.

	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.	Exc. EXPORTS.	Exc. IMPORTS.
1821	\$64,974,382	\$62,585,724	\$2,383,658	\$
1822	72,160,281	83,241,541		11,081,260
1823	74,699,030	77,579,267		2,880,237
1824	75,986,657	80,549,007		4,562,350
1825	99,535,338	96,340,075	3,195,313	
1826	77,595,322	84,974,477		7,379,155
1827	82,324,826	79,484,068	2,840,759	
1828	72,264,686	88,509,824		16,245,138
1829	72,358,671	74,492,527		2,133,856
1830	73,849,508	70,876,920	2,972,588	
1831	81,310,583	103,191,134		21,880,551
1832	87,176,943	101,029,266		13,852,323
1833	90,140,433	108,118,311		17,977,878
1834	104,336,973	126,521,332		22,184,359
1835	121,693,577	149,895,742		28,202,165
1836	128,663,040	189,980,035		61,316,995
1837	117,419,376	140,986,217		23,566,841
1838	108,486,616	113,717,404		5,230,788
1839	121,028,416	169,092,132		48,063,716
1840	132,000,000	107,000,000	25,000,000	

We earnestly request the attention of our readers to the foregoing statement. It will be observed, that for nine years, from 1831 to 1839 inclusive, the United States have imported every year a large amount beyond their exports, and in whole to the great extent of above two hundred and forty-two millions of dollars, or above forty-eight millions of pounds sterling.

How is this excess of imports to be accounted for? In no other way, than from the large amount of bonds sold in the European markets. Let the ten years previous to 1831 be examined, and it will be found, that only thirty-three millions were imported, more than were exported. This may be fairly accounted for, as the profits drawn on foreign shipments. Some part of the two hundred and forty-two millions may be also placed to the same account, and a considerable sum, to the losses sustained by the failure of houses in America. But the largest part must undoubtedly be placed to account of State bonds, bank and other stocks sold in Europe, of which we formerly estimated Britain's share at one hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

It has been customary to call a balance of imports beyond exports, an unfavorable balance, but modern principles of political economy, have shown that the reverse is the correct deduction. We know every merchant thinks so. We should consider that man in an unsound state of mind, who should boast, that his trade had this year, been most prosperous, for he had actually sold five hundred thousand dollars' worth, and

received four hundred thousand dollars' worth in exchange. If any man was making this statement in company, would he get a single individual to join him in his self gratification? Certainly not. And what is beneficial to individuals, must also be beneficial to the whole community.

The amount of foreign capital thus intrusted to the management of the people of the United States has unquestionably put in progress many great public works, which are necessary for developing the resources of the country. Had it been all prudently and carefully applied, the public benefit derived would have been much greater. That much of it has been wasted, is not the fault of the lenders. Yet how common is it to hear of the hardship imposed on this country, in paying so much interest to foreigners. The disowning of so many State Bonds, has inflicted a blow on this country, that she will not recover for many years, unless the policy of these states *is instantly changed.*

And now the consequences of these disgraceful acts are beginning to appear. Twenty-five millions of dollars are withdrawn in the year ending September, 1840, as the previous table shows. Mr. Lester, and those who think with him, will rejoice at this result. They are in truth most indignant at the importations, and declare they will not have them. The Evening Post rejoices at the balance being in the favor of America, and in short the congratulation is loud and strong,

that capital has at last begun to leave the country. The credit of the States stood so high in Europe, from the punctuality with which their interest was wont to be paid, that they might have drawn up capital from that quarter to any amount, which could be beneficially employed. Now all is changed. There will, since the denial of the debts, be *no extra importations*. John Bull has only received abuse for his past confidence, and will no longer give his cloths and calicoes, but for cotton, tobacco, rice or flour. Oh! but the great exports take away the gold, and the importers will no longer carry on that trade—what folly! Does any importer shape his transactions on other basis than his own interest? If he were to assume any other rule, provided his operations are all consistent with law and justice, he would injure the public, instead of benefitting it. He imports as many goods as he can sell safely, and with a profit, and remits the payment in the most economical shape. How often has this absurdity about specie been refuted. It is merely an article of traffic the same as any other. The merchant rarely makes his remittances in specie. Generally, he buys a bill of exchange, representing cotton or some other commodity, which has been sent to Britain or France, and in this way settles his debt. *Occasionally*, when exchange is difficult to be procured, and of course the premium is high, and specie in demand in Europe, he will make his remittance in specie, provided he can save a quarter or half per cent. on the rate of a bill, after paying he expense of freight and insurance.

He never thinks of regulating the exchange, or preserving the specie at home. He regulates his own affairs only. But this very operation regulates the exchange, without his intending it. Others remit in the same way, and this lightens the demand for bills, and reduces the premium. The supply of gold sent abroad lowers the price there, and raises the price here, and it flows back again in remittances from England and France.

This is all very plain, and is known to every banker, and many banker's clerks in Wall street. But in the face of all this, politicians and spouters at public meetings, are forever annoying us, about gold paid for British cloths and French gew gaws. We cannot turn ourselves in any direction, without hearing of the drain of gold arising from the importation of foreign goods. An amusing instance of this was given in a late number of the New York Tribune, where a grave enumeration appears of luxuries imported in the last year, and the cost of these luxuries. After mentioning silks, wines and other articles, which are to a certain extent luxuries, the editor adds *butter and cheese*. To show the different kind of value given by the States for *these luxuries*, all the specie and coin exported, is set down against them, and a variety of other articles which are said to be much more indispensable than the foreign luxuries. What does the reader think is one of the heads to balance the cheese and butter imports, BUT BUTTER AND CHEESE EXPORTED to a far greater amount

than the importation of these articles. The Bullion imported within the same period is not set down against the exports of Bullion, as it ought in all fairness to have been, but is reserved to balance some unknown articles, not denounced by the sumptuary code of the worthy editor of that paper; and butter and cheese are held to be luxuries when imported into the United States, but articles of necessity when exported. We are always sorry when such oddities appear in a paper so much entitled to respect, particularly for its able and honest exertions to prevent the repudiation of the State debts.

The "Home League" for the protection of American Industry, have drawn up a Memorial to Congress in which is the following clause—"without the preservation and encouragement of the great mechanical and manufacturing interests, *by securing to them the home market free from all disturbance from abroad*, no sound system of finance can exist. By this process of unprofitable exchanges, which for the last ten years we have by unwise legislation encouraged, Europe has already obtained from us, not only the gold and silver our commerce could accumulate, but two hundred millions of public and corporate credit *has* passed into the hands of foreign capitalists, in exchange of what we should have manufactured for ourselves, thereby exciting a drain upon our industry far more burdensome than a tax of ten millions annually."

There is much to comment upon in this extract, and in other parts of this memorial, but for the present we

notice only the effect said to have arisen by unprofitable exchanges, drawing the specie from the country. We wish that some of the writers on this side of the question would have favored their readers with the figures of the case. But they have studiously abstained from doing so, as far as we have observed, knowing that the result of an examination, from facts, would settle the question against them for ever, and we entreat the reader to go along with us, while we supply the deficiencies of these political economists. We subjoin a statement of the exports and imports of specie and coin from and to the United States, from 1st October, 1820, to 1st October, 1840, being the precise period embraced in Table No. 1.

TABLE No. 2.

Table of Exports and Imports of Coin and Specie Exported from,
and Imported into, the United States from 1st October, 1820,
to 1st October, 1840.

	Exports.	Imports.	Exc. Exports.	Exc. Imports.
1821,	\$10,478,059	\$8,064,890	\$2,413,169	..
1822,	10,810,180	3,369,845	7,440,334	..
1823,	6,372,987	5,097,896	1,275,091	..
1824,	7,014,552	8,379,835	..	1,365,283
1825,	8,797,055	6,150,765	2,646,290	..
1826,	4,098,678	6,880,966	..	2,782,288
1827,	6,971,306	8,151,130	..	1,179,824
1828,	8,243,476	7,489,741	753,735	..
1829,	4,924,020	7,403,612	..	2,479,592
1830,	1,241,622	8,155,964	..	6,914,342
1831,	9,014,931	7,305,945	1,708,986	..
1832,	5,656,540	5,907,504	..	250,964
1833,	2,244,859	7,070,368	..	4,825,509
1834,	1,676,258	17,911,263	..	16,235,374
1835,	6,477,775	13,131,447	..	6,653,672
1836,	4,324,336	13,400,881	..	9,076,545
1837,	4,692,730	10,516,414	..	5,823,684
1838,	3,058,047	17,747,116	..	14,239,070
1839,	8,775,443	5,574,263	3,201,180	..
1840,	8,417,014	3,554,631	4,862,383	..

We beg our readers to compare the above with Table No. 1, which we gave in a previous page, showing the total exports and imports for the same years. On the principle laid down in the Home League Memorial, whenever the balance of imports of goods exceeds the exports, the gold should be drained from

the country, and in the reverse when the exports are largest, the balance should be received from abroad in bullion.

Now on casting the eye over Table No. 1, it will be observed, that in five years only of the twenty years, do the exports of the United States exceed the imports, viz. in 1821, 1825, 1827, 1830, and 1840; and in all these years, according to the theory of the Home League, and Protectionists, balances of specie should have been received by the Union. But let table No. 2, be examined, and it will be found that in two of these years ONLY, was a specie balance received, viz: in 1827 and 1830—while in the remaining three years, viz. in 1821, 1825, and 1840, specie balances were exported. It will also be found that for the whole five years the account will stand as follows:

Balance export of specie, 1821,	-	\$2,413,169
Ditto, ditto, 1825,	- -	2,646,290
Ditto, ditto, 1840,	-	4,862,383
		<hr/>
		\$9,921,842
Deduct balance imports, 1827, \$1,179,824		
Ditto, ditto, 1830, 6,914,342		8,094,166
		<hr/>
Balance exported,	- - -	\$1,827,676

So that in a period of five years, in which the general exports exceeded the imports, as shown in table No. 1, it is made evident from table No. 2, that the result has been attended with an *export* of specie, to the amount of \$1,827,676.

Let us now turn to the other side of the account, and see how the specie operations are affected, when the general imports *exceed* the general exports, which was the case during the other fifteen years of the period in table No. 1. During these fifteen years, two hundred and eighty-six millions of imports were received beyond the exports, which ought to have deprived the United States of every dollar and eagle in her possession, if the theory we are contending against had been correct. But an examination of table No. 2, will show that during five years *only* of the fifteen, was a balance of specie *exported*, and during the remaining ten years, large balances were imported.

The *five* years, viz. 1822, 1823, 1828, 1830 and 1839, show a gross export of specie beyond the import, of \$14,376,326, while the remaining ten years show a balance of import of - - \$63,731,981
From which deduct the export of the

five years,	-	-	-	-	14,379,326
					14,379,326

Leaving balance imported,	-	-	-	-	\$49,352,655
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So that during a period of fifteen years, with a *most unfavorable* balance of trade, according to the doctrine of the League, no less than \$49,352,655 of specie balance has been received; and if from that sum the \$1,827,676 *exported* during the *first noticed* five years be deducted, a specie balance for the whole twenty years will remain to the United States of \$47,524,979.

Let us notice some particular years of this period.

In 1834, the general imports exceeded the exports twenty-two millions, and yet sixteen millions of specie balance was imported. In 1836, when the excess of imports reached sixty-two millions, and it might have been expected that if the old specie balance theory had any foundation, it would have shown itself; even then, above nine millions of balance in specie was received. And in 1838, after the convulsion of 1837 had occurred, above fourteen millions of specie excess was received. Is any thing more wanted to show that the theory of the balance of trade being paid by specie, is a mere fallacy?

Take the year 1840: after long and anxious watchings of the sky for a shower of gold, expected to fall in enormous quantities, and not contented that the previous eight years had added so largely to the stock of bullion, this year of jubilee at last appears. The exports at length exceed the imports by twenty-five millions, and instead of specie being drawn in by this altered state of things, what is the result? the *export* of gold has exceeded the import by \$4,862,383. There cannot be a more clear proof of the correctness of the political economists of the day, who contend that bullion is merely an article of traffic, the same as any other, and that it is carried wherever it will bring the highest price.

If it be objected to our reasoning that the large importations into the United States have been balanced by the sales of stocks, and that the drain of specie

from this country has been prevented alone by this cause; we admit that these operations have kept the general balance between this country and Europe in a state of equilibrium, but deny that any permanent drain of specie could have taken place, although they had not existed. The exchange being against a country, as we have already shown, may for a time cause some remittances to be made in specie, but that is soon corrected by the rise of the price in the country which exported, and the fall in that country to which it is sent.

It is precisely the same as if a redundancy of broadcloth should occur in the American warehouses, and from some cause, a temporary rise on the same article take place in England. The moment it was found that broadcloth was the most advantageous way of remitting payment of a debt in England, it would be bought up and sent. But after a certain number of transactions had occurred, and this new market came to be known, broadcloth would naturally rise here, and the moment it could not form a profitable remittance, the merchant would look out for some mode of discharging his foreign debt. It is exactly so with specie.

Besides, it is not the interest of any country to have too great a supply of it for a circulating medium. It does not settle large or distant transactions, excepting to a very limited extent, and under particular circumstances. It is chiefly useful for the smaller transac-

tions of retail business, and as a fund for keeping bank paper at its proper level. When carried beyond this, it only sinks an unnecessary amount of capital. The exports of gold in 1839 and 1840, have in part arisen from the loss of credit of the country. They have also been partly occasioned by political causes. When the absurd cry of war was raised in Spring, 1839, about the miserable wastes of the North-East frontier, then did the flow of specie from this country commence, and it has been continued in 1840, though to a small extent in either year. The necessities of the Bank of England, which caused her to take such stringent measures in the reduction of her paper, have also assisted in this drain. These necessities are now supplied, and the demand having ceased from that quarter, and as the chance of foreign war decreases, the specie will naturally flow back into its usual channels. It forms an article of remittance during panics arising from political causes, and in all sudden emergencies, such as when Britain imported corn so largely in 1839 and 1840. But it is not the general payer of balances between nations, and cannot indeed be, as the returns given abundantly show.

It will further be found, that the assertion is utterly groundless, that the operation of Mr. Clay's bill, by reducing duties, has drained the country of gold. So far from this being the case, during the first twelve years in No. 2 table, viz. from 1821 to 1832 inclusive, when the duties on foreign goods were all very high, a specie balance was actually paid by the United States

of \$1,265,312, while in the remaining eight years from 1833 to 1840, a balance has been received of \$48,790,291. Yet in the face of this we are told that free trade takes the specie from the country. So far from this, it appears that under the heavy restrictions that were imposed on foreign commerce, in the period from 1821 to 1832, all the specie acquired from the mines of South America by this country, was exported, and \$1,265,312 in addition, and on the other hand, since the lowering of the duties, above forty-nine millions of dollars in specie have been drawn in, under the system which is now sought to be overturned. It will be well to weigh this important fact, before irremediable evil is done.

Again, if it be alleged, that the large influx of specie of late years arises from South America, it is answered by the fact that nearly thirty millions were received from Europe from 1834 to 1838, while less than twenty millions were exported to *all places*, during that period.

The Union is now paying up a part of what was lent to improve the country with. The undertakings are not finished, but no more capital can be got from Europe, till the United States acknowledge their just and lawful debts.

We shall now notice the agitated question of the protective system of duties by tariff. The Home League Memorial says, "The entire want of reciprocity in the policy of the nations of Europe, the selfishness, which seems an element of humanity, perhaps to

stimulate the species in the progress of civilization, and which obliges them to force upon us their surplus manufactures, while they refuse to receive in exchange our less profitable raw material, compels us to act on the defensive," &c. In the Tribune of January 7, a Gen. Dickerson is represented as saying at a public meeting of iron manufacturers, in New Jersey, that England had her ports closed "against our beef, pork and flour. All we ask," says he, "is reciprocity. If England will close her ports against our produce; let us retaliate by levying such duties on her manufactured articles, as will make a home market at our own manufactories, for the produce which she refuses." Such speeches as this we are for ever hearing, in opposition to the demonstration of figures, and plainness of arithmetic, and the evidence of official documents.

We have already settled the question of gold, and shown that a great amount of the precious metals has been imported within the last few years from Europe, and we may add that a sufficiency of gold to supply the tear and wear of the currency, is received from the emigrants from Europe, and the mines of the United States alone, two sources not previously taken into account in our calculation. Public men go different lengths in demanding protection for domestic manufactures. The Home League demands, in one word, that they shall have the home trade to themselves, without interference from abroad. This is plain and candid, at least. We wonder what amount of duty will suit the League?

Foreign cotton-goods have been groaning under duties, varying from 50 to 100 per cent., and yet they have been imported. Woollen-goods under 50 per cent. duty, and yet they have been imported. A *prohibition* would be best—but then what will be done for revenue? Direct taxation is the best, and cheapest mode of raising a revenue; but then the people won't submit to it. They prefer having their money more dexterously taken from their pockets. Duties, heavy duties, it is now demanded, shall be laid on—50 per cent. has been mentioned.

It has often been shown, that to bolster up certain branches of industry, is just equivalent to laying a tax on the mass of the community, to favor the protected class. We cannot do better than make the following quotation from McCulloch's Dictionary on the subject, page 848:—"The exploded sophisms of the mercantile system, though renounced by every statesman in Europe, acquired a serious influence in Congress, and were put forth with as much confidence, as if their soundness neither had been, nor could be questioned. From 1816 down to 1832, the object of the American Legislature was to bolster up a manufacturing interest, by imposing oppressive duties on most manufactured articles, imported from abroad. Now it is obvious, even had the articles produced in America, through the agency of this plan, been as cheap as those they superseded, that nothing would have been gained by it; for, to whatever extent the importation of foreign

articles may be diminished, there must be a corresponding diminution in the exportation of native American products ; so that the only result would have been, the raising up of one species of industry, at the expense of some other species entitled to an equality of protection.

“ But the ‘ American system’ was not so innocuous. Instead of the goods manufactured in the States being as cheap as similar ones manufactured in Europe, they were admitted to be at an average from 50 to 100 per cent. dearer. The extent of the pecuniary sacrifice that has been thus imposed on the Union, has been variously estimated by American writers ; but we have been assured by those who have the best means of knowing, that it may be moderately estimated at from £11,000,000 to £13,000,000, (sterling) ; and this immense burden, a burden nearly three times as great as the whole public expenditure of the Republic, was incurred for no purpose of public utility, and was productive of nothing but mischief.

“ The whole effect of the scheme was to divert a certain amount of the national capital from the production of cotton, wheat, rice, tobacco, &c., the equivalents sent to foreigners in payment of manufactured goods, to the direct production of those goods themselves, and as the latter species of industry is more suitable for America, a tax of £13,000,000 a year was imposed on the Union, that the manufacturers might be enabled to carry on a losing business. We leave it to others

to determine, whether the absurdity of the system, or its costliness, be its most prominent feature. That its influence was not more injurious, is solely owing to the smuggling it occasioned. With a frontier like that of America, and with a half or more of the population hostile to the tariff, it would have been worse than absurd to suppose it could have been carried into full effect. But it had enough of influence to render it in the last degree prejudicial—to occasion a great rise in the price of many important articles—to cripple the trade and navigation of the country, and to throw a considerable part of it into the hands of foreigners, who carried it on, in defiance of the law.”

Mr. McC. then alludes to Mr. Clay's Bill, and that of 1832, and says, that these judicious acts restored tranquility, and there can be no doubt that they have been highly beneficial to the country.

The greatest efforts are now making to raise the duties fixed by that Bill. We have already given some of the arguments employed to effect this purpose. The Home League says that the two hundred millions of goods imported by foreigners would have been manufactured at home. Now, we ask where were the means of manufacturing them at home? The goods were not forced on the country. The operation began on this side. America wanted to make railroads, and to set banks in operation. She had not the means of doing so. She sent abroad for the money. The demand for goods grew

out of these stock operations. Britain could not supply the loans required in gold and silver, as she has not much beyond that amount in her possession. She could only supply the wants of her transatlantic offspring, in articles suitable for their market. These articles formed the means for balancing the account between Britain and America, which she otherwise could not have done.

How could America have manufactured these goods, or any portion of them? Her laboring population was otherwise employed. Surely it will not be contended that if left to themselves, by foreigners, they could have done double work. And if their industry had been directed into other channels, some more appropriate pursuits must have been left unattended to. But more is wanted than labor; raw materials and credit are wanted, to set manufactures a-going. A considerable part of the first, America has not, and must have brought from abroad; and of the second she is very deficient, as all new countries necessarily are. And now she turns round and says: How cruel you are, imposing a burden on me equal to ten millions, of annual taxation. Just as a man who has borrowed ten thousand dollars from a friend, to enable him to improve his estate, should turn on him and say—"You heartless fellow, how have you the assurance to come to me for your interest? I have not made what I expected of my improvements. Wheat and cotton have not risen in price so much as I calculated on. This

result may come some day, but it is very hard for me to be annoyed by a fellow who has brought me into such a scrape, by giving me so much money. I am determined to keep my estate, and never pay you one cent."

These are the doctrines that the Governor McNutts, and some of the Home Leagues are promulgating in the face of the world, without a blush! But the friends of a high tariff are willing to concede to their opponents, provided *reciprocity* be introduced. Some may be sincere in this, but those who want 50 per cent. duties, or an entire monopoly of the home market, cannot be sincere. Gen. Tallmadge says, "every article of American manufacture is met by prohibitory duties." Mr. Hudson, of Massachusetts, in a very business-like speech in Congress, accuses Britain of taxing American fish and oil, and letting her own colonies and ships import these articles free.

Before noticing these and other statements, we insert a list of a variety of leading articles, with the import duties in the two countries:

	Duties in U. States.	Duties in G. Britain.
Wheat,	25 cts. per bushel,	from 1 to 37-8 per qr.
Oats,	10 cts. per bushel,	6s.3d. to 19s.9d. pr qr
Other kinds grain,	20 per cent.,	various.
Cheese,	9 cents per lb.	2 1-4 cents.
Butter,	5 cents per lb.	4 2-7 cents.
Beef,	2 cents per lb.	2 2-5 cents.
Pork,	3 cents per lb.	3 2-5 cents.

	Duties in U. States.	Duties in G. Britain.
Salt,	10 cents per 6 lb.	free.
Fish,	20 per cent.,	5s on 120, being about 10 per cent.
Oil per ton,	\$37 80,	£26 10.
Cotton, wool,	3 cents per lb.	5-16 of a penny per lb.
Cotton-goods,	30 to 50 per ct.,	10 per cent.
Cotton-goods made up,	29 per cent.	20 per cent.
Woollen-goods,	29 per cent.	15 per cent.
Ready made woollens,	29 per cent.,	20 per cent.

We must now notice Mr. Hudson's statement. He complains that Britain has taxed fish and oil, when imported by foreigners, and let her own go free. And yet this is the very thing done in America. The duty imposed by America on oil is not so great as in Britain, where it is unnecessarily high, but both have the same object, viz. to shut out foreign competition. The American duty is sufficiently large to effect that purpose. The duty on fish from abroad in the United States is 20 per cent., and for all their own States, free. The duty on stock fish in Britain, which includes most kinds of dried fish, is only 5s. per 120—which will not amount to 10 per cent.

The duty on bread stuffs we have already fully discussed, and can only again express our regret that they are not entirely removed, or altered to a fixed scale not exceeding the duties leviable in this country. Cheese pays four times the duty in America, that it does in Britain. It is frankly acknowledged, that if the duty were taken off or reduced, foreign cheese

would be imported to a large extent; and even with the present heavy duty, it is still an article of import. The assertion about beef and pork being shut out by the English duties, is best answered by the fact that the beef duty is two-fifths of a cent less in America than in Britain, and the pork duty three-fifths more.

Butter, a most important article, is admitted on a lower duty in England than in this country. Salt, the poor man's necessary, which it has ever been held most unjust to tax, is free in Britain, although taxed 10 cents per 6 lb. in the United States, besides paying heavy duties to State Governments. Great complaints are made of the British tax on rice. It is a chief article of import from the East Indies, and Britain admits it at one shilling per cwt. from that quarter, while it levies 15s. from other countries. This very heavy duty ought to be reduced, and we have no doubt that it will. It is too hard, however, to be told at the same time, that Britain oppresses India with heavy duties on her commodities.

We are told by Gen. T., that Britain raises a revenue of \$30,000,000 on tobacco. Here we must appeal again to figures. The total revenue of Britain from tobacco and snuff, including expense of collection, was on an average for the years 1836, '37, and '38, £3,458,894, or seventeen millions two hundred and ninety-four thousand four hundred and seventy dollars. If the gallant General was to make as wide a mistake in calculating the force of his army, with an enemy in

front, supposing he had thirty thousand men, when he had only seventeen thousand, he might find himself rather at fault. The tobacco duty, although very heavy, is not directed against the United States, as nearly the whole tobacco consumed in Britain is received from that country. It is purely a matter of revenue, and it is impossible to conceive one less objectionable.

Britain cannot do without this revenue. She has the interest of her debt to pay. We are farther told "that every article of American manufacture is excluded" in Britain. Now we ask what are the chief articles of American manufacture? Certainly, cotton and woollen. Now all articles made from cotton are admitted into Britain ON A TEN PER CENT. DUTY, although she has to bring all the raw material from abroad; while in America the duties still are from 30 to 50 per cent., and have till very lately been nearly double, and are not proposed to be reduced below 20 per cent. Woollen goods are admitted in Britain on 15 per cent., while in America, they are charged with 29 per cent., and were recently 50 per cent., and are not proposed to be reduced below 20 per cent.

Ready made articles of either cotton or wool, pay 20 per cent. in Britain, 29 per cent. here, and were lately charged 50 per cent. These low duties on foreign manufactures have existed in Britain since 1834, and we ask any candid person to say, who shows the most desire for reciprocity? Whatever is objectionable in the British tariff, we have no doubt will be given up,

but there is far more to do on the American side, unless Mr. Clay's Bill is quietly allowed to go into operation, which is not now likely to happen.

But some deny the advantage of reciprocity—Mr. Hudson, among others. This gentleman's name is new in public, but the calm and temperate style in which he discusses his subject is creditable to him, and affords fair promise of usefulness to his country. His arguments, however, in our opinion, are drawn from erroneous premises. He goes at great length to show that the reductions which have taken place in the price of hardware have been owing to the protective system, comparing the high prices of 1816, just at the close of the war, with the present rates.

No man who can either recollect as far back as that period, or has read the history of the times, can be ignorant that it was the reduction in the value of the raw material, the improvement of mechanical skill, with a large reduction of wages, which effected the great change in the price of hardware. No man ought to be ignorant, that the reduction came from England, and that the prices here were lowered not in consequence, but in spite of the protective system. The same thing is applicable to cotton goods, the great reductions on which have been brought about from precisely the same causes. And we may remark, that most of the articles referred to, as made in this country, are done by English workmen or under their superintendence.

Mr. Hudson winds up his speech, with what he evi-

dently considers a conclusive argument in favor of protection, and which we shall now quote from the Tribune of January 19. "An article now free of duty is selling in our market for \$1 20; the elements which make up this price are these: cost in foreign markets \$1, cost of importation 10 cents, importer's profit 10 cents, making \$1 20. At this price the article can be manufactured in this country. Now, let one of our citizens go into the manufacture of this article, and what would be the result? Why, the foreign manufacturer, who has heretofore enjoyed the monopoly of our market, and who is enjoying large profits, will immediately put the article at 90 cents to the American importer, this being the cost of the article. He will willingly forego all profits for the time being, for the purpose of crushing the infant establishments of this country; and the importer will give one half of his profits rather than lose this portion of his business. This will reduce the price of this article 15 cents, bringing it down to \$1 05. The American manufacturer immediately finds the article in the market, at this reduced price, which is in fact less than he can manufacture the article for. He must therefore abandon his business, give up his establishment at a great sacrifice, and yield the market to the foreign manufacturer, who finding his new rival destroyed, will immediately demand the old price, and put his article at \$1; and the consumer in this country will be compelled to pay \$1 20, or perhaps \$1 25, to make up the loss, which the importer and foreign manufacturer sustained during the period of competition.

“ This is the result when the article is free of duty. Now we will take the same article at the same price, both in Europe and America, with protective duties. This added to the former price, \$1 20, would bring the article to \$1 35. The foreign manufacturer fears that he will lose the American market, and consequently, to prevent a surplus in his own market, and to create a surplus here, he will at once put his article at cost, 90 cents ; the importer will forego half his profits, and take off 5 cents, which will bring the article down to \$1 20—the very price which the article brought before the duty was imposed. In the meantime, the American manufacturer produces the article, which he can sell for the same price. Here, then, the manufacturer is protected, and the consumer has no additional price to pay. The importation will not be materially checked ; and this with the domestic production will create a surplus, which will tend to a reduction of the price—a sharp competition will ensue, and necessity, that mother of invention, will bring out improvements in machinery, so that the article can be produced at a cheap rate. The skill also which is acquired will enable the manufacturer to turn off the article at less expense, and so afford it to the consumer at a reduced price. Thus, Sir, will discriminating duties protect the manufacturer, and at the same time cheapen the article. Is it not so ? Does not experience justify this position ? Without a duty, the foreign manufacturer sells at the maximum price ; with the duty, he sells at the minimum—with-

out the duty he could probably reduce his price to destroy our manufacturer; *with the duty*, he must come down to the lowest price to compete with him."

The reasoning drawn from this case we conceive utterly fallacious. It is first assumed that a person will commence manufacturing an article, for which he cannot get more than the cash price, for \$1 20 must be intended to mean the domestic manufacturer's *cost*. Will any prudent man begin to manufacture, when there is no profit to be made, even on the best showing of the case, and where he runs the risk of a reduction being made from the foreign manufacturer's profit by which he will incur an absolute loss? We think not. But will there not be competition enough among the foreign manufacturers? There is no branch of trade of any consequence, where the supply is in one, or even in few hands—such is the rivalry in business, that two persons were scarcely ever known to unite in their operations.

Mr. Hudson seems to have taken his idea rather from two steamboat companies, than from the extensive body of foreign manufacturers, who have as many shades in their views, their resources, and their situations, as there are colors in their cloths. But supposing such a competition as he supports to commence, and the foreign manufacturer to reduce his price for a time to \$1 05, this country has the 15 per cent. benefit, while it lasts, being the difference between that, and the usual price. And in the other case, with a duty

of 15 cents, the *minimum* price is then reduced to \$1 20, and the chance of a reduction to \$1 05 for ever gone.

But that is not all. \$1 20 is the home maker's cost price, and he cannot sell at cost—no more than the foreign manufacturer. The moment one retires from the field, which must be the issue, the price advances, say to \$1 35, and thus the duty is made to tell with its full effect. There is no escape from this conclusion. When a manufacturer finds that the price of an article is brought so low, as not to yield him a profit, he will abandon the trade. If he has a stock on hand, he will sell it off at the highest price he can get, and make some other kind of goods that will yield him a profit. He may delay this for some time in the hope of a change. But the principle is invariable, that no man remains permanently in a business, which does not yield him a profit.

Mr. Hudson says that competition and over-supply will produce a reduction in price. But these are totally different causes, and they will operate with or without duties. Indeed it is well known, that foreign competition and a reduction of price are not the objects the high tariff men have in view, but to stop the importation of foreign goods, and keep up the price of domestic manufactures. That high duties have this effect, and will have it in the very case we have now noticed, cannot admit of a doubt. If the giving of protection be the best means of reducing the price, as

Mr. Hudson asserts, then the outcry raised against the British Corn Laws must be totally groundless, as the ample protection given to the home grower must go to lower the price, and not to raise it.

Mr. H. takes up very erroneous ground in supposing that there is no competition, even when an article is confined to the foreign manufacture. Every business man knows this to be directly the reverse. The capital in Europe is so abundant as to introduce competition wherever a business is yielding a fair profit. He talks of the foreign manufacturer getting high profits, at the same time only estimating an advance of 10 on 90 cents. We do not think this a high profit, with all the risk attending the operations of business;—no man would embark his capital in this country in manufacturing, without the prospect of a better profit. He talks of a maximum and minimum profit. No person sells on a minimum—it is always on a maximum profit, and the buyer the reverse—i. e. both wish to make the best bargain the market affords. The profit is temporarily affected by the supply and demand, and permanently regulated by the cost of production.

And what is the effect of this banishing of foreign goods to end in? It just prevents domestic produce or manufactures, to the same amount, from being sent abroad. This is the sole result, excepting the loss of money which the community has paid to the individuals, in the shape of a bounty on their manufactures. A hundred hands have been drawn from a business

which was yielding a profit, to one which would have yielded nothing without a protecting duty, and which must ever be liable to be destroyed by contraband trade, or a return to a sound system. A new manufactory may be set a-going, but another has been stopt, and a ship laid idle.

We have been led away by the agitated question of the Tariff, to neglect our more proper object, viz. Mr. Lester. We now return to him.

In vol. 2, page 265, he asserts that it was the restrictive system of Britain which suggested to France the manufacture of sugar from beet root. Here our author's hatred of Britain is again made to illustrate his ignorance. The manufacture of beet root was commenced in France in Napoleon Bonaparte's reign. His great object at the time was to ruin Britain by shutting her out from all trade with the Continent of Europe, which was then entirely under his control. All the West Indian Islands were in possession of Britain, except Cuba and Hayti—and Cuba was at war with him—of course sugar was almost a prohibited article. So strict was his surveillance, and so great his hatred of Britain, that considerable quantities of produce and manufactured goods brought from that country, were burnt by order of the tyrant. The effect was, of course, similar to the Irishman's attempt to ruin the obnoxious banker by burning all his bills, which he could get into his possession.

The French people could not do without sugar. The price rose in Paris to five or six times its usual amount, and the beet manufacture was commenced from necessity. When the Bourbons had their West India possessions restored to them at the peace of 1814, they laid high duties both on their own West India sugars, and on those of foreign growth, in order to encourage the beet manufacture. These facts are sufficiently known, but they could not prevent this new aspersion of England. The British ministry has for some years been unwearied in their endeavours with the French Government, to break down that system of non-intercourse, which has existed for ages between the two most important countries in the world. They set them the example some years ago, by reducing the duties on French wines one half, and placing them on the same footing with the wines of Spain and Portugal. It is believed that the people of France are beginning to find the great advantage of a more intimate and extensive traffic with their nearest neighbor, and that the time is not far distant when a more extensive commerce will be carried on between these two nations, than has ever existed between two countries.

How cordially is it to be wished, that all rivalry and jealousy should cease, excepting the unavoidable opposition which a free trade will naturally give rise to. Instead of grudging a profit of ten per cent. to our neighbors, on an article, that they can furnish on lower terms than ourselves, ought we not rather to rejoice

that they get that profit, and that we are able to pay it. The principles of trade render it absolutely certain that we shall gain as much ourselves, by the operation, as we shall balance the account by selling goods with at least an equal profit, and thus both parties will have their capital, and their comforts increased.

The most important effect of free trade is its moral influence. Nations from old habits have antipathies to each other. No two countries have carried that feeling to a greater extent than France and England. *Natural enemy* used to be a complimentary phrase in Britain, when speaking of France. All that feeling is at an end. They view the French now, as friends and neighbors. The same feeling exists very generally towards the United States, and it would have been universal by this time, but for the quarrels and heart-burnings which has arisen of late years, and which we have no hesitation in saying, have not been occasioned by the British people or government.

A more unrestricted intercourse, would remove all this also. Were this intercourse universal, mankind would be like the children of one family, whose interests were inseparably united. Their tempers might be different, but they could not afford to quarrel, as their interests were inseparable. Protection is a cold and heartless system. Carried to its legitimate extent it would draw a line of separation between every state in the Union. Massachusetts might complain of New York, that she was beginning to rival her in cotton manufac-

tures, and insist on a duty being laid on, to shut out all competition and let her have the whole supply of *her home market*. Rhode Island, in like manner, might attack Connecticut. There is no end to the demands of protection. In former times it enacted sumptuary laws, and fenced the mercantile community round with restrictions, pains, and penalties.

The system of bounties is not yet quite extinct, and in some close burghs, of the old world, the sound of the workman's hammer can only proceed from a burgess or freeman of the city, while his equally industrious neighbor, who lives only half a mile off, is not allowed to practice his calling, within the charmed circle. The protectionists may struggle to delay that close union, which will unite the human family into one society, holding the same high and holy principles, but they may as well attempt to roll back the coming tide, or stop the motion of the earth.

CHAPTER VIII.

VICE IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

WE begin with a tale of vice and misery, in vol. 2a, page 137, which the author says, fell under his own observation.

Many may think, after the exposure already given, it is unnecessary to enter fully into this new romance; but we conceive that the cause of truth, which has been so violated, calls for a full examination of this matter.

Our author is in London. He leaves Lord ——'s at midnight, enters an omnibus at Apsley House, at the corner of Hyde Park; a thick fog hung over London, and a storm seemed to be coming on. "By the light of a neighboring lamp, I perceived a lady in the omnibus, who was not only unattended, but there was no other person in the carriage. Her face, on which the lamp shown brightly, was as pale as marble; but her features were beautiful," (of course).

"She was dressed as superbly as though she had just come from from a ball at Almack's. There was a look of deep distress on her countenance, such a look as we never forget after it is once seen; the large blue veins swelled out, as if ready to burst."

She becomes a *character* on the spot, from which some new charge might be brought against England. He ventures to ask, if he could render any service to her in a ride at that late hour. She replies, "Oh no! Sir, whoever you are, for God's sake, do not speak to me; I only want to die; you can't help me now." "As she uttered these words, she burst into tears. We rode on in silence, broken at intervals, by her sobs and sighs." He goes on to St. Paul's, but instead of leaving the omnibus then, as he ought to have done, he proceeds to the *Bank*, where he leaves the omnibus, in company with the lady, who has at last agreed to accept his assistance. The lady is received by our hero with one arm, and her *new born infant* with the other.

The child's only swaddling clothes are a Cashmere shawl. "The omnibus drove on, and not a human being was in sight. Near by was a flight of steps, upon which she was scarcely seated, when she fainted away. There was no lamp near us; it was past one o'clock; the rain had begun to fall heavily upon the pavement, and save the feeble cry of the child in my arms, and the distant rumbling of the omnibus, no sound was heard."

The streets, as our author passes from Hyde Park corner, are said to be nearly silent and deserted, particularly the leading streets. Our author himself, whose memory is treacherous, mentions that when he entered London, late at night, he took bye streets to avoid the throng. p. 14, vol. 1. At all hours are there numbers

of people in the Strand, Fleet street, Cheapside, and on to the Bank. This line is one of the main arteries of the immense congregation of human beings in London, and the necessary and urgent calls arising from business, sickness, or other causes, must at all hours set in motion many of the two millions of inhabitants. If to this be added, those returning from parties, and those who are of irregular habits, we shall not be surprised, that the streets are never deserted. Even in New York, with a population of one sixth, Broadway and other main streets are never deserted. As to no lamp being near the Bank of England, nothing can be farther from the truth. It is one of the best lighted places of a well-lighted city.

Our hero calls for a policeman, who wraps the child in the cape of his water-proof cloak. Mr. Lester inquires for a boarding-house. The policeman takes him to a house near the Thames, and there he leaves the lady, and pays a week's board for her.

He then asks the policeman "who she may be." He replies, "there is no knowing, of course, certainly; but I doubt not, she has moved in fashionable life. Did you see how she was dressed, and how she spoke; why, you can tell a lady from the West End, only by hearing her speak once. Why I suppose she has been ruined by some heartless fellow in Regent street. There are thousands of girls who are; and then they come to the East end, and die of neglect and privation. From one extreme to the other—that is the way with the London world. For my part, I am satisfied with the lot of a policeman."

How singularly fortunate Mr. Lester is, in meeting with people who generalize without ceremony or discrimination, upon the evils of the country. The "London world" is gravely charged as involved in these practices, from one end to the other. This matter is overdone as usual, and the romance exposed. But the most extraordinary part is yet untold. He draws a petition for the lady, addressed "to the City of London Lying-in Hospital, City Road, or any other London charity." "By means of these exertions, this unfortunate mother received assistance; but the child died the night she came from the West End."

Now we appeal to every person acquainted with London, or English manners and feelings, whether this disgusting story has one vestige of truth in it. That London, like all large cities, has many women of bad character is well known; that our Rev. author may have met some of them may be true; that he may have remained in their company for some time, may also be true; but we aver, that the story here given, contains internal evidence of its being utterly unfounded.

His statements of the gloom and darkness of a night in June, when there is scarcely any darkness at all in that season; that the streets were silent and deserted, when the leading thoroughfares are crowded; that a lady, dressed as if she had come from Almack's, was just delivered of a child, for the child had no covering but a Cashmere shawl; that she was a West End

lady, having not only the dress, but the speech and bearing of a lady of fashion and education; that such a person should not have one friend to accompany her on such an occasion; all these statements are alike incredible and absurd.

That such a person would allow a stranger to attend to her, and to pay a boarding-house for her, and at last to put her in a lying-in hospital, after her child was dead, is equally ridiculous. Why, a lady dressed as if she had been at Almack's, would have as many jewels and valuables about her as would have kept her for a twelve-month at least. Of course, concealment would have been her object, and to accomplish this she goes into a lying-in hospital! The author has got hold of the City Road address, where *there is* an institution of that kind, to give the better color to his story.

The policeman talks of thousands of such girls being ruined by such heartless fellows in Regent street. Here is another name got hold of—why is Regent street any worse than its hundreds of neighbors. That there are many females seduced and ruined by the villainy of the other sex, is a melancholy fact; but then, this is a lady of fashion, a West End lady, of a class far from numerous, who do not go by thousands to perish at the East end of the city. If such an unhappy event had occurred, in a family of that description, the first object, we repeat, would be concealment, both on account of the victim, and her family.

If the author of this work had really met such a case, and wanted to act the good Samaritan, as he always professes to do, he would have seen the unfortunate person fairly settled for the night, and then have opened up a communication with her family, to effect a reconciliation, or at least to have her provided for, so as to stop her downward career; but such a termination would have thrown a ray of light into that dark picture he was determined to present of England's shame.

How Mr. Stevenson, the late ambassador, would stare, if he ever reads Mr. Lester's book, when he is told that a London lady of fashion went into a lying-in hospital! We think our author, from his inventive powers, in which he will be wonderfully assisted by the sharpness of his eyes in seeing blue veins by lamp light, should try his hand at works of romance, but he must bring them nearer to the truth, or they won't be sold.

In vol. 2, page 259, our author makes the following statement. "Hear the words of another Briton, and let Americans read the contrast between his country and their own, and let them fall on their knees, and thank God for the thousandth time, that they are Americans.* In America, you may travel a thousand miles, taking the towns in your way, without meeting with a single prostitute."

* This reminds us of an occurrence in the General Assembly of the Scotch Church, about half a century ago, as narrated to us by a Scotch friend. Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate, and

If this statement was intended for foreign countries merely, its object might be perceived, but to put it forth in the United States, is a gross insult to the understanding and moral perceptions of his countrymen. Would to God it were true. But does not every person know, that there are hundreds of that unfortunate class in every considerable town or city in the Union? Do not the newspapers abound with reports of cases of keepers of disorderly houses being daily brought before the magistrates? Is it not notorious that the vice in question exists here, and throughout the country, to a great extent. We make not this statement from a wish to place this country in a worse position than others. But does not every one who has looked below the very surface of society, know our assertion to be true? Does the author of this work never reflect that the eye of the omniscient God sees through these false and disgusting statements, and that to flatter his countrymen, and sell his calumnious work, he is rushing on the thick bosses of the Almighty's buckler? Does he not know the wo denounced against the watchman who cries peace, peace, when there is no peace? The extent of vice and wickedness which

afterwards Lord Melville, upon occasion of the annual motion for the abolition of church patronage, made a flaming speech in favor of patronage, and concluded by a solemn declaration, "that every morning he rose, he returned thanks to God for the existence of patronage." A venerable old divine rose from the gallery, and in broad Scotch, sung out, "Eh, moderator, he maun be a *peosou* (pious) lad that, for he's thankfu' for *sma' mercies*."

exists in all countries, can never be known till that day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open before an assembled world.

As far as human law, or the exertions of benevolent institutions or individuals, can check the progress of vice in Britain, much is done—more, certainly, than in any other country. That there is any thing in the laws or institutions of the country to encourage acts of vice, is utterly without foundation.

In addition to all his other allegations against Britain, our author has, in vol. 2, page 255, given the particulars of a case (real or otherwise) of the exposure of a newly-born child, in a manufacturing city.

He has gravely charged this evil to the account of the corn laws, as if such lamentable occurrences were not too often taking place in every community.

While our attention was called to this subject, we took up the New York Tribune of 28th December, and observed in that single paper, reports of the following cases:—1st. Sally Ann Bond, charged with the murder of her new-born child “by strangling and choking it.” 2d. The case of Sophia Pothart, for arson in the first degree, she being accused of setting fire to a house in Leonard street. 3d. The case of Colt, for the murder of Mr. Adams. 4th. Notice of a respite of execution of Thomas S. Shuster, convicted of shooting his wife through the heart. 5th. Two cases of theft before the inferior court. 6th. Three Coroner’s inquests, the deaths in two of the cases, occasioned by intemperate habits.

We also add two other cases, as follows. The first is entitled "The bench and bar disgraced." The St. Louis papers of the 14th instant, mention a half ludicrous, and wholly contemptible scene, which occurred in the Circuit Court of that city. It seems that the Judge, Mullanphy, ordered a lawyer named Risque, to sit down, which he refused to do, saying that he preferred to stand. The judge then ordered a fine of \$50 to be entered against him, and commanded Mr. Risque again to sit down, which he again declined. The judge ordered another fine of \$50 to be entered against him, and directed the sheriff to remove him from the court-house. The deputy attempted it, but did not succeed, Mr. R. walking out at his leisure after the sheriff had desisted. The judge then directed an order to be entered against Mr. Risque, to show cause why he should not be struck from the roll. The next morning, they chanced to meet in the street, when Mr. Risque aimed a blow at the judge, which knocked off his spectacles and his hat; the judge then drew a sword from his cane, and the lawyer a pistol from his pocket, and just as they were rushing on to the mutual assault, the marshal interposed, and commanded a cessation of hostilities. There it rests."

The second article is as follows: "A discreditable judicial squabble took place at the opening of the December term of the Court at Holly Springs, Miss., between an old judge and one recently elected, the former contending that there was no vacancy, and the

election of the latter was illegal. Each judge appeared, took his seat, and undertook to control the business. After considerable trouble and confusion the court adjourned, and the Supreme Court have to decide the merits of their claims."

All these cases are contained in a daily paper, not of large size. We came on it accidentally, and our readers may from this specimen form a fair judgment of the state of morals in the United States. We make no charge against either government or people, on this account, as such crimes are committed every where. We except, however, the two judicial scenes, which are moderate specimens of what too often occurs in the Courts and Legislative Halls of the United States, scenes which never take place in any other country, but which belong to the peculiar institutions of the country, of which Mr. Lester is so vain.

CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATION IN BRITAIN AND UNITED STATES.

Our author has made repeated attacks on England for the ignorance of her people. We select the following as a specimen. In vol. 1, p. 238, he says—“ Show me a very learned man in England, and I will show you some thousands around him, who cannot read the Bible, or write their names ;” and in p.239, “ Diffuse the wealth, the learning, the cultivation of the few in England, over the mass of society, and it would be poverty, ignorance and ill breeding, in comparison of the United States.”

With regard to the ignorance, and ill breeding, we are about to examine that part of the subject, but shall merely notice, *en passant*, that if there is so much wealth in America, it is singular she can undertake nothing, of any consequence, without getting the means from Britain.

As to DIFFUSING wealth, we grant that they are good at that in this country, and if old England had not put a stop to diffusion, under the management of such proficients as Mississippi, Indiana, and Illinois, she would soon have had but little left to diffuse.

But to say nothing more of the absurd comparison about wealth, we shall merely quote Lester *versus* Lester, which will settle the question. In vol. 1, p. 14, he says, "The wealth of London would well nigh purchase half the globe." Does he include the United States in the globe? It cannot be. He must have shut it out, from the inconsistent statement he has given above. In that case, the United States must be able to purchase several globes. The whole of the solar planets might be bought up by the diffused wealth of America, if a road could only be made, which the wealth and the ingenuity of the United States can doubtless accomplish.

We notice first, the subject of general education in England, and at once admit, that it is a great reproach to her government, that till of late years, education received no aid from the national purse. The bounty of benevolent individuals in past ages, erected a great number of public schools in England, and large funds were left for their support. With the assistance derived from this source, the voluntary schools provided education for the great mass of the people, till within the last half century. Since then, the population has increased so rapidly, and so many have been crowded into manufacturing towns, that a vast number of children have grown up, ENTIRELY UNEDUCATED. This deplorable state of things was the means of bringing forward, to the aid of the rising generations, two extensive vol-

untary associations, which have sprung up since the commencement of the present century, viz: the National School Society, and the British and Foreign School Society. The first of these bodies combines, with education, religious instruction in the tenets of the Established Church. The second gives no preference to any sect of Christianity. It appears from returns made in 1833, that the number of children attending daily schools of all kinds in England was, 1,275,947, and attending Sabbath Schools, 1,548,000, the first class being 9 per cent., and the second, 11 per cent. of *the whole population*. Since that time much progress has been made in education. In 1833, Parliament, for the first time, voted £20,000 for the support of public schools. This grant, has been raised to £30,000, which sum is annually voted. It is divided between the two associations we have mentioned. This sum is small, in comparison to the enormous expenditure of Britain. But much difficulty has been experienced from the intolerant, or half popish part of the Church of England, and we rejoice to see this most important subject at last taken up. £150,000 have already been paid by Parliament, and about £300,000 within the same period, subscribed by individuals, and new school houses erected, capable of containing 250,000 pupils. We think we may now safely state, from the rapid increase which has taken place within the last few years, that the number of children attending school in England and Wales, is two millions, being 13 1-3 per cent., taking the population at fifteen millions.

In Scotland the system of Parochial Schools, and the general attention bestowed upon education, are universally known, and that country is admitted to be inferior to none both for the general and more finished education of its inhabitants. We have no returns of the whole number under instruction.

We have looked into some of the recent returns in the United States, and find that New York stands highest, giving a number equal to about 20 per cent. of the whole population attending school, and showing that those attending exceed the whole number of children in the state from five to sixteen years of age, which we think is proving *rather too much*. In Massachusetts, under the recent impulse given to education, to which we will afterwards allude, 18 or 19 per cent. appear to be on the school rolls, and an average attendance of about 14 per cent. and in Pennsylvania, perhaps from 10 to 12 per cent., may receive instruction.*

These are undoubtedly the states where education is most general, and if we take an average of the Union, it will be found that not above 10 or 12 per cent. of the whole population is attending school.

It appears from the latest returns, that half a million of white grown up inhabitants can neither read nor write. The far greater proportion of them is in the

* The people of Connecticut are also said to be generally educated. We doubt this. No well educated people would have allowed their Legislature to pass the Act of 1833, to be afterwards noticed.

slave states. North Carolina carries the broom in this interesting comparison, the non readers amount to one ninth of the whole population, or about one half of the whole grown up people.

But it must be borne in mind that the time the American schools are open does not appear to exceed from six to eight months per annum, say seven months; while the English schools are open all the year, except a short vacation in autumn, rarely exceeding four weeks. So the amount of common education given in England must greatly exceed that of America. England is now exerting herself in this great field of usefulness, and a general system of education has also been introduced into Ireland, by the wisdom and patriotism of the whig ministers, which will soon make the greatest change on that country.

It is surprising that in the present day any party should be found to throw obstacles in the way of general education, but such obstacles have been interposed in other countries besides Britain. This is strikingly exhibited in the recent history of Massachusetts. It appears that two centuries ago, laws were enacted in that state, providing that every child however poor, should have the important benefit of education. But no central power was appointed to keep the machinery in active operation. The Edinburgh Review, for July 1841, says, "it was assumed by the legislature that the dictates of self-interest would prompt the inhabitants to nominate the best qualified individuals, as members

of the school and prudential committees ; and that feelings of public duty and responsibility would induce the committees to execute their functions in the best manner."

Yet under this system, we shall presently see, that education declined, and remedial measures became absolutely necessary. A general school fund was created in 1835, and a board of education for the whole state established in 1837. In 1838 reports were made by the board, in one of which it is stated, "The common school system of Massachusetts has fallen into a state of general unsoundness and debility ; a great majority of the school-houses are not only ill-adapted to encourage mental effort, but in many cases are absolutely perilous to the health and symmetrical growth of the children ; the schools are under a sleepy supervision ; many of the most intelligent and wealthy of our citizens are become estranged from their welfare ; and the teachers of their schools, although with very few exceptions, persons of estimable characters and great private worth, yet in the absence of all opportunity to qualify themselves for the performance of the most difficult and delicate task, which in the arrangements of Providence is committed to human hands, are necessarily, and therefore without fault of their own, deeply, and widely deficient in the indispensable prerequisites for their office, viz. a knowledge of the human mind as the subject of improvement, and a knowledge of the means best adapted, wisely to unfold and direct its growing faculties."

Again the Reviewer observes, "This representation of the result of the administration, for two centuries, of the common schools, by the people themselves, without the aid of any controlling, advising or enlightening neutral power, is highly instructive. It shows, that in conducting education, as in executing every other difficult and complicated process, the blind are not adequate successfully to lead the blind." The secretary of the new board, in reporting on the improvements which have been effected, says, "A year ago in the town of Salem, the school-houses were without ventilation, and many of them with such seats as created vivid ideas of corporal punishment, and almost prompted me to ask, for what offence they had been condemned to them."

Now here we have evidence of the most overwhelming kind, of the unfitness of the teachers, of the injurious character of the school-houses, and of the total inadequacy of the system to accomplish the work of education, and all this under the sole supervision of the people; seven hundred thousand heirs apparent to the throne looking on all the time.

What an outcry would be raised, if our author had discovered this in England. But we must not imitate him, and take up a reproach against the old and venerable state of Massachusetts, regarding the errors of this school establishment merely as the corruptions of time, which necessarily affect all public institutions. We rather rejoice that the state had the courage and

principle to look the evil in the face, and to apply so comprehensive and efficacious a remedy.

That remedy however met with much opposition in the legislature.

As lately as in March, 1840, a committee of the house of representatives recommended the abolition of the board of education, the suppression of the normal schools, which had just been established, and the return of a sum of ten thousand dollars which Mr. Dwight of Boston, had generously given for their support. The report however was rejected by a majority of the house, and a similar proposal afterwards made; again rejected.

The Reviewer remarks on this decision, "that if the motion to abolish the Board, and the Normal Schools, had passed both Houses of the Legislature, and if no better institutions had been substituted in their stead, the cause of democracy would, by that act, have sustained a severer blow in Europe, than it has suffered since the enormities of the French Revolution. Massachusetts presents the most favorable specimen of democracy in the New World; she boasts of industry, wealth, religious zeal, and a comparatively enlightened population. Had her Legislature extinguished these institutions, and reverted to the previously existing educational arrangements, we should have been justified in inferring that democracy instinctively hates light, refinement and civilization; and that its natural atmosphere is that of ignorance, selfishness and pas-

sion." That this was very near being the case, was shown by the last division, when the cause of education only triumphed by a majority of 131 to 114.

We consider the exertions lately made in the Northern and Western States, particularly in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, as highly creditable, forming one of the most important elements of the true glory of a nation, but they should not engender that absurd pride and vain glory, which is ever looking for gratification, by a contrast with others.

We have contrasted the common or general education of England and the United States. We shall next examine how the higher branches will compare. We have now before us a list of ninety-five Universities and Colleges in the United States in the year 1840. Only think what a sound this will make in Europe!—Ninety-five colleges, all conferring degrees in literature, far more colleges than in all the rest of the civilized world! Strangers on landing here from the Old World, must expect to meet a nation of sages. But they will be surprised to learn that the whole students attending these colleges only numbered nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four, being an average of 97 for each.

Six of these colleges have no teachers, thus enabling the young gentlemen to have the gratification of being self-taught, and also of conferring the degrees on themselves. One of these colleges has one teacher, 3

have 2 teachers each, 5 have 3 teachers, 8 have 4, 10 have 5, 45 have from 6 to 10 teachers each, 13 have from 11 to 17 teachers each, one has 25, one 26, one 30, and one 31 teachers. Seven of these colleges have no pupils, the Presidents and Professors enjoying snug sinecures—12 of them have from 10 to 50 pupils each, and only 8 have above 200 each. If three Roman Catholic Institutions, which have 17, 25, and 26 teachers each, be deducted, there are only two colleges in the Union, viz. Harvard and Yale, which have the requisite number of teachers for the branches of education taught in the European Colleges. These excellent and valuable institutions have 30 and 31 teachers respectively.

We wish to speak with the utmost respect of every seminary for the instruction of youth, in this country or in any other. Many of the institutions now mentioned have been eminently useful, and we hope that they will continue to be so; we quarrel not with them, but with their bombastical titles. Most of them would be styled grammar-schools, or respectable academies, in Britain—some of them would not even be entitled to that rank.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England, have eleven thousand students attending them, and the two London, and the Durham Universities, a very considerable number. The four Scotch Universities have from three to four thousand pupils. We may fairly state that in Britain, which contains about

the same population as the United States, there are attending the regular Universities, double the number of those attending the institutions here called Colleges; and if we add to the number those who are attending the public grammar-schools and academies of Britain, to bring down the comparison to the level of the American Colleges, it is no exaggeration to state, that the number of young men receiving a liberal education at Public Institutions in Britain, is ten times greater than in the United States.

It is amusing to see the constant desire manifested in America to break through the rule laid down by the Constitution, denying titles of rank. In no class is this more conspicuous than among teachers. The most common instructor in the A, B, C, styles himself a Professor. If he is qualified to teach in an academy or grammar-school, he has every chance of soon having President added to his name. Only think of a President, four Professors, and *ten* pupils! How comfortable must be the situations of the President and Professors! How learned the young gentlemen must soon become, and how interesting the meetings of the *Senatus Academicus*, when they are conferring literary honors on their pupils.

We have heard of an Emperor of Russia making a foreign schoolmaster an Admiral, because he had no honors but naval and military ones to bestow. This could not be practiced here, where military titles are so common, that a well educated schoolmaster would not

consider himself honored by the possession of such a distinction. We have heard of an old lady complaining at the time Britain was armed to the teeth in expectation of French invasion, that she could not get along the streets for Colonels. If she was in the United States, she would shut herself up in despair.

Before closing this article, is it necessary to say any thing of the proficiency to which education is carried in Britain, as compared with America? How many ladies are there, of genteel and fashionable appearance and lady-like manners, who cannot write a common card or letter, without the grossest blunders, both in orthography and spelling. How common is it for them to begin, Mrs. ——'s Compts., (using the third person,) and ending in the first person, and signing Mrs. ——, instead of the christian and surname. We trust that the improvements which are gradually taking place in the system of education, will soon remove this reproach from the country, and in particular that the fair sex will see how much more essential it is to cultivate the mind, and to attain that knowledge which is both useful and ornamental, than to acquire all the graces of the dancing school, or the newest cut of the French milliner and dress-maker.

CHAPTER X.

CHURCH AND STATE.

WE shall now notice the Church question raised by our author—his hero, John Thorogood. John had been confined for eighteen months in Chelmsford Jail for contempt of Court, arising out of his refusal to pay five shillings and sixpence of church rates, which, we have already explained, is a small tax annually voted by the parishioners for keeping the churches in repair. Our author, when in London, determines to visit this voluntary martyr, and he is accordingly introduced to the reader's notice in vol. 1, page 213. The author is admitted into Mr. Thorogood's apartment by the jailor, who intimates that he is very tired of his prisoner, as he has so many visitors.

John receives our hero in the most cordial manner, tells him that he cares nothing for the 5s. 6d., that he is ready to give half a sovereign for any good cause, but will not surrender his liberty of conscience, that he can bear oppression until the sacred ground of moral rights is invaded, but he cannot, and will not give way to the wicked claims of despotic rulers. Page 215, he says, "the result of it all was, that for contempt of

court, as it was called, I was thrown into jail 16th January, 1839, where I have remained ever since, and where I will remain till I die, rather than surrender the principle for which I am contending." (We may notice here, that John has long since changed his mind, and been graciously pleased to walk himself out of Chelmsford jail.) "That principle is no less than that for which Protestant Reformers have in all ages contended; the very principle is no less than that for which England broke away from the allegiance to Rome; for which Huss and Jerome, and ten thousand others went to the stake; the same principle for which John Bunyan lay twelve years in Bedford jail; the greatest, the dearest principle for which man ever contended, the high, the sacred right of conscience." Again, in page 217, he says: "Do I not suffer the greatest wrong, when any party seek to prescribe to me in religion, either what I shall believe, or how I shall express my faith?"

John Thorogood, it seems, is a dissenter from the Established Church, and we hope a sincere believer in the truths of Christianity. How his *conscience* can be hurt by a small payment for supporting a Church, which teaches essentially the very doctrines which his own Church teaches, we cannot explain. That he might grudge to pay the 5s. 6d., having his own minister to pay, we can understand, although we would think it scarcely worth the consideration of a man in his good circumstances, to object to so small a claim.

That he might use his Parliamentary vote, or other Constitutional privilege to get the law altered, we can also understand. But *conscience* is said to interfere in a matter where the object must be admitted to be decidedly good. Why there are few Christian men, either in Britain or America, who will not readily give a subscription for the propagation or support of the gospel, by whatever body the application is made.

But here the refusal of payment of a few shillings, laid on by the people themselves, and in some cases refused, when there are a majority of dissenters, is gravely and impudently compared to the noble stand made by Huss and Jerome, when they sacrificed their lives for the cause of scriptural truth, and religious liberty. How can this man presume to call such a matter, prescribing to him, either what he shall believe, or how he shall express that belief?

But John appeared to be anxious for the crown of martyrdom, at least while he could do it at little charge. His wife and family visited him, and remained with him all day, and hundreds came from all quarters to see him; so that John became quite a lion. To a person desirous of separating "the throne from the cross," as he avows his object to be, and especially to a man in his comfortable situation, all this must have been highly gratifying.

No people have ever been more distinguished by their firm maintenance of the right of conscience, and private judgement, than the Quakers. They are opposed

on principle to war, considering it unlawful and unjust. Yet they quietly pay their taxes, although they are partly applied to the maintenance of war. They wisely consider that the advantages derived from good government, far outweigh any inconvenience arising from the operation of the laws on those more minute shades of opinion, which are ever to be found in a free country. If all men were to adopt the self-conceited and opinionative conduct of John Thorogood, no system of government, however good, could possibly be maintained, and confusion and anarchy would necessarily prevail.

Resistance of a tax is rebellion. We know, and readily admit, that there is a time, when resistance to a government becomes justifiable, and even a duty. When the rulers of a country have trampled on those great constitutional rights, which belong to every free people, when they have lost their benign and protective character, and instead of being a terror to the evil, and a praise and protection to the good, have become a terror to the good, and a praise and protection to the evil, then the sooner such a government is changed the better. And will John Thorogood be able to plead to this issue when sisted before the bar of the great Judge? Will he be able to plead not guilty, for resisting laws enacted by the representatives of the people of Britain? It will then be known whether his *conscience* has been hurt by 5s. 6d. being asked for maintaining the Temple

of the living God, or whether the glory of being admired and courted by men, who think with him, has not been his governing motive.

We understand that John's resistance may have been in part influenced by motives even of a lower order than we have noticed, as he has made money by the donations given to him by his ignorant sympathizers. Before parting with John, our author, as a matter of course, makes him pay a compliment to America. "Here, Mary, said he to his wife, I want to introduce you to Mr. ——." (Queer that he does not mention his name.) "He lives in the United States, that blessed land, where there is no established church—no church rates, or tithes, except what a man is willing to tax himself."

Now we beg the favor of our author and readers, to go with us for a few minutes to that "blessed land," and request him to join us in the recollection of a scene, which was enacted in the *free* State of Connecticut, only a few years ago. See that mob of well-dressed men, surrounding that modest looking house. Some are smashing the windows, and others are preparing to pull down the house. Two men walk up through the crowd and knock at the door. It is opened by a lady, who asks the meaning of this outrage. One of the men says, "We have a warrant to take you to prison." "Of what crime am I accused?" inquires the astonished lady. The man pulls out a paper and reads from it—You are accused of—what is it that this

respectable looking female is accused of? Can it be murder, or theft, or what atrocious crime?—*You are accused of teaching females to read!*"

Shade of Franklin! Can this be America, that styles herself a free country? It is even so. The lady has dared to keep a boarding school for colored young ladies, which is held to be a high crime. The children now fly in every direction, and the men carry Miss Crandall to prison. All hail Columbia! land of the free and brave! What an act of unequalled gallantry! You have conquered a few colored children, and dragged their teacher to prison. Great is the bravery, great the patriotism of the select men of Canterbury.

Go with me and open her prison doors. I will not show her likeness to one who can discern blue veins where no face was ever seen. But I admire the trust and confidence this persecuted lady displays; that trust and confidence are placed in God. Contrast her case with that of John Thorogood. He is constantly surrounded with friends and visitors. Some approve of his conduct from extreme views as dissenters, some from hatred of all religion, many come from curiosity, and many seriously religious men try to dissuade him from his course. Miss Crandall has no such comforts. A few personal friends she has, but the sovereign people, the heirs apparent, are against her, and can hardly restrain their indignation within any kind of bounds. But she is sustained by the testimony

of a good conscience, and tells her persecutors she will not desist from her purpose of teaching colored children. "Before you shall open your school again in Canterbury," said one of these persecutors, "you must walk over the bodies of five hundred men." Most valorous hero! Is your name not known, so as it may be handed down to posterity? Bobadil, Jack Falstaff, Boby Acres, all must yield the palm to thee!

After leaving John Thorogood's jail, our author tells us he went to visit the house where Goldsmith is said to have written his "Deserted Village." "The old hamlet bears the name of Springfield, and it is supposed by many, that in the early history of New England, its quiet and liberty-loving inhabitants emigrated from their homes to the banks of the Connecticut, and there founded the town of Springfield."

Now if any of the liberty-loving inhabitants, could rise from their graves, and witness the Legislature of the State of Connecticut meeting, and passing a law to prohibit, under severe penalties, the establishment of schools for the instruction of colored children, if these children belonged to any other State, what would they think of their degenerate descendants. Yet such a law was actually passed in the year of Grace, eighteen hundred and thirty-three. To talk of such men knowing anything of the meaning of liberty, is to make a mockery of that cherished word. They might understand how to protect their own property, and to pro-

tect their own rights from attack, with as much zeal and ferocity as a mastiff in defending his master's house, but they must have sunk far below the level of minds capable of apprehending the claims of freedom, or the rights of conscience, before they could even entertain such a proposition. Let our author explain why it is that with republican institutions, flourishing unchecked for sixty years, a community should have become so degraded ?

The question of the lawfulness, or propriety of the State giving any assistance in matters of religion, is deeply involved in the case of John Thorogood. No question has received a more full discussion of late years than this, and none can count a greater number of able and conscientious defenders, on both sides.

It must at once be admitted, that Church Establishments have a strong tendency to abuse, and if we examine those that have existed, we shall find that most of them have been instruments of intolerance, cruelty and oppression, and instead of building up the fabric of genuine Christianity, they have been used to promote the purposes of selfish and ambitious priests, and wicked and unprincipled rulers. But unless it can be shown that such evil consequences are inseparable from Church Establishments, however constituted, or under whatever modification they may appear, the results we have now mentioned, by no means determine the question.

No man in possession of his senses, will deny the necessity of civil government, yet how many evils have followed in its train, under every shape and modification it has assumed. But who, excepting the class we have mentioned, would think of setting it aside altogether? The evils which have accompanied civil government, under its worst form and administration, have been infinitely less, than those which would have existed, if it had been entirely abolished. We do not mean that any government should support such a religious establishment, as will in the most remote degree, interfere with the liberty of private judgment, but that they should extend assistance to all sects, who teach the doctrines of the Bible, in proportion to their population, but only when it could be shown, that a necessity existed for it.

But we are immediately met by the difficulty, of how the doctrines of the Bible are to be ascertained. There is no other mode of doing this, but by the majority of the people's representatives. This, it may be said, would sanction, in Roman Catholic countries, the exclusive support given to that faith. But under our system, with the most ample rights secured to all, who might differ from the majority in opinion, and with the most full and frequent discussion, which would arise, when assistance was required, we should not be afraid that any body of Christians would long be deprived of their fair proportion of support, if it should be required. If such discussion could only be introduced into Catholic

countries, we would soon witness the downfall of that mass of priestcraft and superstition.

The Church of England is much abused by Mr. Lester. We are no sticklers for that Church. Her structure has too much pomp, wealth, and worldly policy, attached to it. Her absurd and arrogant assumption which is brought forward here, as well as in England, that she has the sole right by hereditary descent, to authorize the preaching of the Gospel, is alike unscriptural, and repugnant to the feelings of every independent mind.

If the Reformation had been in the hands of Luther, Calvin, or Knox, they would have done it more effectually. The sound Scriptural views of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, reformed the doctrines of the Church, and brought them close to the primitive standard. But the ambitious ministers of the excellent Edward VI. preserved to the new Church, the wealth, the titles, the pomp of her Popish predecessor. The same error was committed as when Constantine took the Church under his protection, but we believe the motives of the Roman Emperor were more pure than in the last case. The worldly advantages thus injudiciously heaped on the Church had a similar result in both cases. The Churches lost their love, and became either stationary in their exertions, or to a certain extent opposed to the growth of pure Christianity. The English Church was early opposed by dissenters, which she met with all the intolerance and persecution of the Church of Rome.

These days have long since passed away, and a brighter era is now developing itself. The Church, with all its faults, always contained a number of faithful ministers; her writers have been the most eminent in maintaining the cause of our common Christianity, and her works are the standards on that subject, in every library. Within the last half century, she has made great progress in piety and evangelical truth. Many years ago, the pious John Newton used to say, that there were only three hundred among the ten thousand ministers of England who preached evangelical doctrine. Before his death they had reached three thousand, and it is now believed that they are a majority of the whole.

Since the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, great improvements have been introduced into the Church Establishment, chiefly by the exertions of the whig ministers. An important step has been taken toward a more fair division of the revenue of the Church. The salaries of the more highly paid bishops, and other dignitaries, have been put under a process of reduction, the proceeds to be given to increase the incomes of the curates, which have long been justly complained of, as quite inadequate to their support. Residence is strictly enforced upon the Clergy, and many other salutary arrangements made.

In Ireland, ten Bishoprics have been abolished, the incomes of the higher Clergy reduced, and the funds applied for religious or educational purposes. Tithes, so

long a source of annoyance, are now paid by the land-owners on a fixed scale, and church-rates abolished. Much more is yet to be done, and would have been done, but for the influence of the hierarchy. But the reform will soon be completed.

There can be no doubt that the Church is arising in her strength, and putting on her beautiful garments. As she is deprived of part of the wealth which had been imprudently lavished upon her, or as that wealth is becoming more equally divided, we trust she will just in proportion look less to the world, and more to her spiritual duties.

There has however lately arisen at Oxford, a party supported by learning, talent and rank, which has broached doctrines, almost identified with the Church of Rome. If this party were to make any considerable progress, we should say that the Church of England was near her end. But if her right wing has ventured once more to hoist the standard of the false and unscriptural Church, there has appeared on the opposite wing, a strong band of bold and faithful divines, who have unfurled the glorious standard of reform. They insist on a change of the liturgy, to bring it down to the more simple and primitive level of Christian truth, that the Church shall have free courts established for discipline, and government, that the Bishops shall renounce their worldly honors, that the Church shall be stripped of all her Babylonish robes, and meretricious graces, and shall assume the noble and honorable office, of

carrying the truths of the gospel to the cottage and hearts of every family in the kingdom, which has not yet been brought under its saving influence.

The Church of Scotland has also felt the influence of the times in raising her dormant zeal. With a prudence peculiar to the nation, Scotland did not, at the reformation, transfer the revenues of the old church to the new faith, but imposed a small tax or tithe, on the landed property, for the support of the ministry of the Gospel. Under this system her thousand parish ministers have enjoyed much comfort, without the cares and temptations of many of their wealthy brethren in the South. The minimum of their stipends or incomes, is £150 per annum, with a free house and piece of ground, called a glebe. But their average stipends, will amount to about £250, or \$1250 per annum. Under this moderate provision, the church has preserved more of the external and internal marks of a Church of Christ, than any hitherto established.

She also long had her moderate and Evangelical party. The first were those who generally cared less for the flock than the fleece, and resembled the High Church party in England.—Yet there were always among them men of distinguished ability, and they were almost universally men of respectable private characters. In any thing regarding religion they were *very moderate*—hence their name. They were never so well described as by Dr. Witherspoon, then a minister of the Church of

Scotland, but afterwards President of Princeton College in the United States, in a small work entitled "Characteristics of a moderate man," a work abounding with good sense and principle, and much genuine wit.

Principal Robertson, the celebrated historian, was long the leader of the moderate party, in the church courts.

Since the commencement of the present century, the Evangelical party has been gradually encreasing, and it has now a large majority. By their exertions chiefly, many new congregations have been formed at home, and missionaries sent to the heathen world. The ministers are selected by the patrons of parishes, who pay a large part of the stipends of the Church of Scotland.

This burden was imposed in the Tory days of Queen Anne, and has always been felt as a grievance by the people of Scotland. The ascendancy of the evangelical party, which has generally been more favorable to popular rights, than the moderates, enabled them to pass a law of the Church a few years ago, giving the people a veto on the appointment of their ministers. This privilege was soon reduced to practice. The people have repeatedly exercised the veto, in which they have been uniformly sustained by the highest church courts, but the patrons whose power was interfered with, have appealed to the civil courts, and always got judgments in their favor. The civil courts allege that the Church is interfering with the

vested rights and pecuniary interests of patrons. The Church Courts say, they are supreme judges in all matters purely ecclesiastical—that ordination is of that description that they will ordain no minister who is not acceptable to the people, and that they will stand by them in defence of their rights.

The non-intrusion party, which is the name generally given to the majority, contains the piety, talent, and integrity of the Church of Scotland, and a vast majority of the people in her communion. They are supported by a considerable part of the peerage, the gentry, and learned men, of the country. The contest has raged for several years, and the issue is doubtful. The late government took little part in the struggle, though it is believed they were favorable to the non-intrusion party. Their conduct in nominating ministers, as the patronage of about one third of the whole parishes belongs to the crown, would seem to prove this, for in every instance the people had their own choice, generally a list from of the most eligible candidates.

The remnant of the *moderate* ministers, have mostly adopted the views of the civil court, when their decisions clashed with those of the Church courts. The true and best remedy would be at once to put an end to patronage, and leave the people to choose their ministers.

One of two things must eventually happen, either a legislative enactment must be passed to adopt the non-intrusion principles, or the whole of that party will withdraw from the church, and leave her a skeleton of dry bones.

Another controversy is also raging in Scotland. It began a few years before that last mentioned, and originated with a large body of dissenters from the church. It is on the subject of the lawfulness of church establishments. The unlawfulness has chiefly been pleaded by a numerous class of seceders, whose forefathers left the church, about an hundred years ago, not on the ground of such establishments being unscriptural, but on account of abuses in the management of the church. They have been ably answered by members of the church. Both parties are exhausted with the contest, which has been carried on in pamphlets, in magazines, in reviews and newspapers, in the pulpit, in public meetings, and in church courts. They have lately rested on their arms, prepared for another encounter. One body of seceders has joined the church, satisfied with the great change that has of late years taken place in the decisions of her courts, and the zeal and Christian purity which she now exhibits.

The protestant Dissenters are very numerous in all the three kingdoms. In Scotland and England they approach to a half of the whole population. The objection to establishments on principle, among the dissenters in England, is by no means so general as in Scotland. Indeed the largest body of them, the Wesleyan Methodists, are known to be friendly to the church, and many would unite with her, if a complete reform could be obtained, which we have already seen has commenced, and we doubt not will be accomplished within a few years.

We know the views entertained on this subject in the United States, and respect the sincerity of those who profess them, which we believe to be the great mass of the people. But we cannot help thinking that if some national assistance were given towards the support of the gospel, not to a favored sect, but to such as require it, we would meet with fewer infidels in our hotels, and steamboats, and railroad cars. There is not a more beautiful or interesting sight, than a faithful and exemplary parish pastor, going in and out among his people, instructing them by his preaching, stimulating them by his example, and carrying them along with him in the path to heaven.

Most gladly would we have seen such an institution at a country district lately, not fifty miles from New York, where there is only a very small village church. The minister, a good man, but without weight among the people. He receives no payment, excepting a small church collection, perhaps of a dollar each Sunday. He is obliged to support himself by hard labor during the week, as a teacher, and has of course no time to visit the people, few of whom seemed to feel that they had any connection with him. The consequences are apparent. Some of the wealthiest of the inhabitants are so sunk in worldliness, and so ignorant or dead to religious feeling, that they make no scruple of opening their stores on Sunday, and selling goods. Had this worthy man only enjoyed the minimum salary of a Scotch parish minister, how much good might he have been

able to accomplish. The people themselves could pay, but many feel not the importance of religion.

Religion, like education, must often be brought to the door, and pressed on the consciences of the people. The Massachusetts education system affords a striking proof of the necessity of some external power being employed, to watch over the working of any institution, however good, in order to maintain it in vigor and purity. How much more must it be necessary to introduce some new force, when every thing is left to individual volition, and to bring concentrated christian zeal and energy to bear on places overrun with sloth and indifference to the concerns of religion? We do not see how a nation professing to be christian, can excuse itself for this fearful neglect.

Let us suppose a stranger from one of the planets of our system to pay a visit to this earth. Suppose him to land at Washington, and to enter the Capitol while the Legislature is in session. He finds them busy voting money to support a set of men, who are trained to kill their fellow-creatures as a profession. Next day he finds them engaged in voting large sums to build and equip huge wooden castles, to be sent to sea to destroy such as are supposed to be enemies to the country. On the third day he finds them voting money to pay the Government officers, and maintain the dignity of the civil magistrate.

He enters a fourth day, and observes the business is of a different cast. He inquires of a by-stander if all the

votes of money are over, and is told they are. He asks if it be a Christian country, and is informed it is. He asks, with surprise—"Do you make no provision for maintaining the worship of God, none for preserving the remembrance of Him who came down from heaven to save your fallen race? Do you expend all your means in providing for the destruction of your fellow-men, or in maintaining your own honor and dignity, and forget the Giver of all you enjoy?" The by-stander, equally surprised, replies: "Who are you, and where have you lived, that you do not know that to provide for the worship of God, would be contrary to the *voluntary principle*? We are a very religious nation, but we cannot violate the voluntary principle; besides we could never agree as to who should have the money, and we therefore set the question aside—and begin even to doubt the propriety of having a chaplain among us, as the organ of our public addresses to God." The stranger reminds the by-stander that when the people of Israel were under the immediate government of God, they were expressly commanded, as a nation, to maintain his worship. But he is told that a Theocracy is not to be compared to a Democracy, which is the only system of perfection. The stranger extends his pinions, and gladly wings his way to his own region, where we trust all hearts are, individually and collectively, attuned to worship and serve the living and true God.

But it is said that the voluntary plan provides for

the spiritual wants of the people. We grant that it has done so in this country to a very considerable extent, and that the towns contain a great mass of church-going people. But it only provides where two requisites exist: First, the disposition to hear the gospel; and second, the means to support a minister. But are there not both in town and country immense masses of the people, where both requisites are wanting, and in many cases where one exists without the other.* It is the business of a nation to supply these deficiencies as far as it is possible. Voluntary societies frequently do much, but their means are limited, and reach but a small portion of the vast field they would require to operate upon. Can a nation be guiltless that leaves its people in this condition?

We know the difficulties attending the question, and do not undervalue them. But when there is a will there is a way. Every great national question has its difficulties, but the wisdom of man provides a remedy. Church Establishments have been accompanied with many evils; but what are these in comparison to a vast part of the population growing up in entire neglect of the truths of religion. The best security for good order and respect for the laws, is ever to be found in a sincerely religious community.

* NOTE.—A very large part of the ministers in country districts in America, do not receive above two hundred dollars per annum.

CHAPTER XI.

LORD BYRON.

ONE of the most barefaced and impudent things in the whole work is that part where Lord Byron's name is introduced. A new character is brought out in the shape of an American gentleman, name not given, who makes a speech to our author occupying from page 126 to 138, vol. 1st. This American gentleman professes to have been with Lord Byron, during his last days, and makes him say all manner of good things about America in general, and about Mr. Washington Irving in particular, evidently that Mr. Lester may recommend himself to that distinguished author.

After what we have presented to our readers, they will not be surprised to hear that eight pages of this speech, said to be the result of this gentleman's observation, or information while at Missilonghi, were given to the American public in the year 1824, in an appendix to *Medwyn's Conversations of Byron*. That appendix was taken from the Westminster Review, and published by Wilder and Campbell, in New York in the year above mentioned. We give the extracts, as in a former case, from the two works:—

LESTER, p. 126.

“He (Lord Byron) was then suffering from the effect of his fit of epilepsy which occurred the middle of February.”

MEDWYB, p. 273.

“It is no wonder that the unlooked for disappointment should have preyed on his spirits, and produced a degree of irritability, which, if, it was not the sole cause, contributed greatly to a severe fit of the epilepsy, with which he was attacked on the 15th of Feb.

Page—131. “Byron had partly recovered from his first attack, and was in the habit of riding on horseback almost every day.—On the 9th April he got very wet during his ride, and took a severe cold, which was attended by fever, still he rode out again in the afternoon of the following day, a few miles from town, on his favorite horse! and this was the last time he ever left the house.”

Page 279—“My master,” says Mr. Fletcher, “continued his usual custom of riding daily, when the weather would permit, until the 9th of April. But on that ill-fated day, he got very wet, and on his return home, his lordship changed the whole of his dress, but he had been too long in his wet clothes, and the cold, of which he had complained more or less, ever since we left Cephalonia, made this attack be more severely felt. Though rather feverish during the night, his lordship slept pretty well, but complained in the morning of a pain in his bones and a headache; this did not, however, prevent him from taking a ride in the afternoon, which I grieve to say was his last.”

LESTER.

3d. "A slow fever set in, and his symptoms continually grew worse."

4th. Page 133—"His system wasted rapidly; for during the eight days of his illness, he took no nourishment, except a small quantity of broth, at two or three different times, and two spoonfuls of arrow root, the day before his death."

5th. Page 132—"Mr. Fletcher said he was very anxious to send to Zante for Dr. Thomas; for his master was *all the time* growing worse under the treatment of Doctors Bruno and Miligan."

6th. "In a day or two Mr. Fletcher again supplicated the attending physicians to let him send for Dr. Thomas, and was solemnly assured that his lordship would be better immediately—These stifled efforts were not again renewed until it was too late."

MEDWYN.

3d. "His lordship was again visited by the same slow fever, and I was sorry to perceive, on the next morning, that his illness appeared to be increasing."

4th. Page 260—"The whole nourishment taken by my master, for the last eight days, consisted of a small quantity of broth at two or three different times, and two spoonfuls of arrow root, on the 18th, the day before his death."

5th. Page 280—"On the following day I found my master in such a state, that I could not feel happy, without supplicating that he would send to Zante for Dr. Thomas."

6th. Page 280—"I repeated my supplications that Dr. Thomas should be sent for, on the 18th, and was again assured that my master would be better in two or three days—after these confident assurances I did not renew my intreaties till it was too late."

LESTER.

7th. "The physicians insisted upon taking blood—He reluctantly yielded, and one pound was taken from his right arm."

MEDWYN.

7th. Page 281—"Accordingly my master was bled in the right arm, on the evening of the 18th, and a pound of blood was taken."

8th. "Mr. Fletcher then renewed his prayer to send for Dr. Thomas, and was met by the reply, that his master would either be much better, or a dead man, before Dr. Thomas could come from Zante."

8th. "A long dispute now arose about the time that had been lost, and the necessity of sending for medical assistance to Zante; upon which I was informed, for the first time, that it would be of no use, as my master would be better, or no more, before the arrival of Dr. Thomas."

9th. "The physicians insisted upon bleeding again the same night, and told him it would [probably save his life —' Oh !' said Byron, with a mournful countenance, 'I fear, gentlemen, you have entirely mistaken my disease; but there, take my arm, and do as you like.'"

9th. "His lordship continued to get worse; but Bruno said, he thought letting blood again would save his life; and I lost no time in telling my master, how necessary it was, to comply with the doctor's wishes. To this he replied, by saying, he feared they knew nothing about his disorder, and then stretching out his arm, said ' here, take my arm, and do whatever you like.'"

LESTER.

MEDWYN.

10th. "The next morning, although he was in a very feeble state, the doctors bled him again twice; and in both cases fainting fits followed the operation. At two o'clock this destructive operation was performed again."

11th. "From that time till death, which occurred two days after, Byron often expressed great dissatisfaction with his physicians. The day before he died, the faithful explored his master to let him, even at that late hour, and without the knowledge of his physicians, send an express to Zante. 'Do so,' said Byron, 'but be quick, I wish you had sent sooner; for I know they have mistaken my disease.'"

12th. "When Fletcher returned to his master's room, Byron asked him if he had sent to Zante. 'You have done right,' he answered, 'if I must die, I wish to know what is the matter with me.'"

10. His lordship continued to get weaker; and on the 17th, he was bled twice in the morning; and at two o'clock in the afternoon. The bleeding at both times was followed by fainting fits."

11th. "On the 18th his lordship addressed me frequently, and seemed to be very much dissatisfied with his medical treatment. I then said, 'Do allow me to send for Dr. Thomas,' to which he answered do so, but be quick, I am sorry I did not let you do so before, as I am sure they have mistaken my disease; write yourself, for I know they would not like to see other doctors here.'"

12. "On returning to my master's room, his first words were 'have you sent.' 'I have, my lord,' was my answer; upon which he said, 'you have done right, for I should like to know what is the matter with me.'"

LESTER.

13th. "Fletcher wanted to get a port folio to write down his master's words, Byron called him back, exclaiming, 'Oh, my God, don't waste time in writing, for I have no more time to waste; now hear me, you will be provided for.'"

14. Fletcher begged him to go on to things of more consequence, and Byron continued, 'Oh, my poor dear child, my dear Ada! my God, could I but have seen her! Give her my blessing, and my dear sister Augusta, and her children; and you will go to Lady Byron and say—"tell her everything; you are friends with her.'"

15. "For some time he muttered something very seriously, and finally, raising his voice, said, 'Now, Fletcher, if you do not execute every order I have given you, I will torment you hereafter, if possible.'"

MEDWYN.

13th. "I then said, 'shall I go, my Lord, and fetch pen, ink, and paper,' 'Oh! my God, no, you will lose too much time, and I have it not to spare, for my time is now short,' said his Lordship, and immediately after, 'now pay attention.' His Lordship commenced by saying 'you will be provided for.'"

14. Page 282. "I begged him, however, to proceed with things of more consequence. He then continued, 'Oh! my dear child, my dear Ada! could I but have seen her! give her my blessing—and my dear sister Augusta, and her children, and you will go to Lady Byron and say—tell her everything; you are friends with her.'"

15. "he kept muttering something very seriously for some time, and would often raise his voice, and say, 'Fletcher, now if you do not execute every order which I have given you, I will torment you hereafter if possible.'"

LESTER.

16. "Poor Fletcher wept over his dying master, and told him he had not understood a word of what he had been last saying—'Oh, my God, said Byron, then all is lost, for it is now too late. Can it be possible, you have not understood me?' Fletcher said, 'No, but do tell me again, more clearly, my Lord.' 'How can I,' answered Byron, 'it's now too late, and all is over!' Fletcher replied, 'Not our will, but God's will be done,' and he answered, 'Yes, not mine be done! but I will try once more.'"

17. Page 136. "I believe the last words the great Poet ever spoke on earth were, 'I must sleep now.' How full of meaning these words were. Yes, he had laid himself down to his last sleep. For twenty-four hours, not a hand or foot of the sleeper was seen to stir."

18. "'Oh! my God!' exclaimed the kind Fletcher,' I fear my master is gone.' The Doctors then felt his pulse, and said—'You are right, he is gone.'"

MEDWYN.

16. Page 232. "Here I told his Lordship, in a state of the greatest perplexity, that I had not understood a word of what he said; to which he replied—'Oh! my God! then all is lost, for it is now too late! Can it be possible you have not understood me?' 'No, my Lord, but I pray you to inform me once more.' 'How can I,' rejoined my master; 'it is now too late, and all is over.' I said, 'not our will, but God's be done!' and he answered, 'Yes! not mine be done, but I will try.'"

17. Page 284. "The last words I heard my master utter were at six o'clock on the evening of the 18th, when he said, 'I must sleep now;' upon which he laid down, never to rise again, for he did not move hand or foot for the following twenty-four hours."

18. "'Oh! my God!' I exclaimed, 'I fear his Lordship is gone.' The Doctors then felt his pulse, and said—'You are right, he is gone.'"

We have not the smallest doubt that every sentence given with inverted commas, as speeches from characters met by the author in England, has been copied from published books. We are not aware that *this mode* of appropriating the literary property of others, has ever before been practiced, and really think our author should come forward and claim a patent for his ingenuity.

If any thing were yet wanting, it would be his complaint of an article in Hunt's Magazine, as an appropriation of this kind, in the following terms:—
“The author should have taken the precaution to state, that something very like it had already appeared in London. He would in that way have saved himself from the imputation of being indebted more than he seemed to be, to the productions of others!”

CHAPTER XII.

THE EAST INDIES, CHINA, AND SLAVERY.

OUR author has a letter addressed to Hon. J. C. Calhoun, chiefly on the subject of East India cotton, and also making some allusions to slavery in America. He has also a letter to an anonymous correspondent, on British India.

In addressing Mr. Calhoun, our author suddenly drops his tone of indignation, and assumes the most humble and deferential manner, such as he seems to think will be acceptable to the Southern nobleman, and master of slaves. Being an avowed abolitionist, he is compelled to refer to slavery, throwing in some hints about abolition being for the interest of the slaveholders. This is not done directly, but inferentially, and his letter contains not one allusion to that law of God, every branch of which is necessarily violated wherever slavery exists. He can abuse enough, when attacking the people of other lands, but he is nearly dumb when in the presence of the champion of slavery.

Our author commences by a fervent hope that heaven will preserve the American Union, "through all coming time," without qualifying it by any deference

to those laws which heaven has given for the rule of all nations. If these are observed, and her policy at home and abroad, is founded on these laws, there is no fear for the Union.

In page 30, we are told that British India can supply the entire demand of Britain for cotton, rice, and tobacco, and in p. 36, that "England has for a long time grudgingly paid her millions every year for American cotton, and she is now determined to do it no longer." Here is something new ; we were told that America paid millions to Britain, and that the American merchants were determined to do so no longer ; and now it turns out that America has been receiving millions from Britain. But it seems she has paid it grudgingly. We would ask when did Britain or the British government begin to deal in cotton ? We never heard of it. The Pacha of Egypt is a large wholesale merchant, but not Great Britain. Does she ever instruct her merchants, where they may bring cotton, and where not ? All she has to do with American cotton is, the collection of a small tax of five sixteenths of a penny per pound upon its importation.

English merchants buy their cotton where they can get it best and cheapest, whether in America, India, or Egypt. Those, no doubt, who hate slavery, and all who know what freedom means, must hate it, have a special objection to every thing produced by slavery ; but that objection has never been embodied in any act of the British government or legislature, declaring war

against American cotton, nor is it likely to be. The hope is generally entertained, that America will soon wipe away that deep and dark stain upon the country, and that she will not much longer resist the light which has been cast around that question, and which is penetrating every corner of the civilized world.

That the attention of the British nation is now fully aroused to the vast resources of her Indian empire is true, and that great exertions will be made to develop those resources, and improve the condition of the people is certain. But that these exertions will be guided by a sense of duty, and of justice to India, and of prospective benefit to Britain, and in no respect from hostility to America, is equally certain.

Mr. Lester, page 49, says, "If England will not buy our cotton, she is more presumptuous even, than usual in supposing that we shall purchase her manufactures." Now what is the use of conning this matter over so often? America has little besides cotton to send, and if that should not be sent how can the goods be paid for? Illinois and Mississippi bonds, and *no kind* of American securities will be taken till the old bonds are acknowledged, and put under a train of settlement. The history of the Spanish bonds must satisfy every person that such will be the result. VALUE, *real value*, must go to Britain, or the goods will not be sent. If America chooses to try the ground Britain has gone over, let her do so, and welcome. Let her send the cotton as usual, and take Chartist bonds, or Repealers'

bonds. They are quite as good as many sent from this side of the water. They are a people of kindred spirit with our author, and the proposal claims his warm support.

In relation to India cotton, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce is introduced, page 37, "as an association of opulent manufacturers, whose power is almost unlimited."

Now we have been told in p. 264, that British manufactures were "fast declining." There is power left yet it appears. We are farther informed in page 48, in relation to the abolition of East India slavery, "that the spirit of the British people is so aroused, that the government will not dare refuse the bold demand." Compare this with page 285, "After the restoration of Charles Second, who never should have been permitted to wear a crown, the flames of liberty seemed to go out, and the reign of tyranny commenced. From that time the mass of the people have sunk down in uncomplaining silence."

Again we are told, vol. i. page 174, "Parliament has been dissolved: an appeal made, not to the English people, for they have nothing to do with the laws, but to obey them, but to the electors, who are a small minority of the people." In consequence of the elections turning in favor of the Tories, we are informed, that "for a time liberty seems to have left England, but in the end freedom will lose nothing." Why, we thought freedom had left England, and never returned since the restoration of Charles Second.

But now it is only gone at last election, in the year 1841! Again it comes to life in vol ii., and it is intimated to the slave holders, that the people of England have so much power, and so much principle to use it, that they can even extend their protection to the distant regions of Hindostan, and that Government will not dare refuse the bold demand. Let these statements be reconciled if they can.

A long lecture is given by our author on the "outrageous tyranny that has characterized the dealings of the British Government, with the native chiefs of India and their people;" and it is said in page 53, "That if the true history of the British dominion in Asia, with all its injustice and oppressions, practised upon a prostrate and unoffending race, could be read by the world, it would form some of the blackest pages in the whole catalogue of human suffering and wrong." And in page 63, "One of the most distinguished statesmen of England said to me the other day,—India is the slave of England, sir." We think it very unlikely that any distinguished statesman in England said so to him. But why not mention his name? In that country no man need be afraid of speaking his sentiments. He then says, "millions (in India) suffer continually, in all parts of the country, from hunger, which is relieved by just food enough to keep them from actual starvation." Much of this kind of general abuse, is to be found in the two letters on India.

That a handful of Europeans should have extended their dominion over so vast a region, peopled by so many millions of inhabitants, is one of the most striking chapters in the history of the world. Possessed of a strip of seacoast for the purposes of trade, the East India Company was more than a century in existence, before she was in any way formidable to the more important sovereigns of the country. At length, about the middle of the last century, she became an object of serious apprehension to the native princes. Successive coalitions were formed, backed by the power of France, to drive the British entirely from India, all of which ended in the extension of their power.

The most formidable of her assailants, Hyder Ally, came out of the contest shorn of much of his power, and his territories greatly reduced, and at the close of the century, the fall of his son Tippoo, established the British dominion on a widely extended basis. Wars have since followed with the Mahrattas, the Nepaulese, the Burmese, and many others, which ended in the addition of whole provinces to the British empire. It must be confessed, that many acts of oppression and injustice have been committed in that country, by individuals far removed from the control of those who alone could exercise it. But it does not appear that at the time the East India Company made its great movement from a mercantile character to that of an extended territorial sovereignty, the war was of their seeking: on the contrary, the early part of Lord

Clive's transactions sufficiently show, that the war was purely defensive.

The wars since that time, appear to have been chiefly brought on by the native princes, from a natural desire to prevent the increase of the power of their European neighbors, whose superiority they had already so deeply experienced. Whether these wars were ever instigated, or hastened by the superior skill of European diplomacy, we cannot say; but it is certain, that private adventurers, bent on making rapid fortunes, have too often found ample opportunities of doing so; in the irregularities of a state of war and tumult, and among the ruins of falling or changing dynasties. While all such excesses must be deplored by every lover of the human race, it must be admitted, that they are in some measure inseparable from so wide and extended a field of warfare, situated at the distance of so many thousand miles from the seat of government. The abuses of the servants of the India Company, have been brought repeatedly under the notice of the British public, through Parliament, but the extreme difficulty of finding proofs, and it may be, the disinclination of some men in power to have these abuses investigated, have, we fear, often prevented the ends of justice being accomplished.

These remarks apply to the past. The administration of Indian affairs has for many years been of a benign and just character, and every effort is put forth to prevent abuses on the part of public servants. Making

every allowance for the superiority of European skill and discipline in arms, it must be admitted, that the people of India have felt no interest in supporting their former rulers, or they would never have so easily submitted to such an handful of strangers. This is not indeed surprising, when it is considered that their Tartar and Mohammedan conquerers, systematically plundered the people without mercy. The worst days of British rule must have been to them a vast improvement of their political condition.

Since the time of conquest has passed away, the people have remained quietly under the dominion of the British Government, and enjoy privileges which their forefathers in no previous period of their history ever attained. Government is charged by our author, as in Britain, as the cause of evils, over which they cannot exercise the slightest control. The failure of the crops, in some places, for instance, is a ground of complaint. In such cases we have no doubt that everything possible is done by Government to assist the people, although the means of conveyance must often be so deficient, and the distance so great, as to prevent its being given so speedily or effectually, as the necessities of the case may have required.

Slavery is also charged as a crime against the British Government, whereas, it neither originated with, nor has been encouraged by them. Indeed, that such an institution as slavery existed in British India, was unknown till a few years ago, as it is confined to

certain districts of the country, and we have never heard that any slaves belong to natives of Britain. This branch of that atrocious system is common both to the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, who in some cases kept in slavery the captives taken in war, and suffered others voluntarily to consign themselves to perpetual slavery or serfship, as was customary at all times, in Eastern countries.

Mr. Lester, copying from the Natchez Free Trader, page 45, says, "The ocean queen is about to work her thirty millions of white slaves in the jungles, and in the plains of India." Now, the highest calculation we have ever heard of the number of serfs in British India, is one million, being about one per cent. of the population. Mr. Lester must have recognized a kindred spirit in the numerical accuracy of his Natchez friend. But the British nation has set about this matter, and although the Asiatic masters of these slaves may talk about the antiquity and advantages of "the peculiar institution," like their friends in the South here, slavery must and will be abolished.

The British people would sooner give up India altogether, than have a single slave in the number of their fellow subjects. England will suffer no false issue to be made about the constitution, whether it be British, Indian, or Mohammedan. To the law and the testimony—that is now the constitution in practice in England. To the United States must be left the honor of upholding a constitution which almost every man admits, is contrary to the Divine law.

India is *not* the slave of England. Our author states that the British standing army in India, consists of 256,000 natives, and only 28,000 Europeans, and says, "who can contemplate such a spectacle without feelings of indignation, not to be suppressed." Aye, who can? It must be gall and wormwood to all who look on Britain as he does, to think that she cannot only retain such an Empire, but put arms into the hands of the people, and find them her most faithful and devoted friends. If this fact, instead of being a ground of complaint against Britain, does not afford conclusive evidence that the Government is popular, we know not what will.

But cannot Mr. Lester, in his most mild and submissive tone, advise his friend, Mr. Calhoun, to try this plan with the blacks? They are faithful and devoted creatures, and why not have some regiments of them ready for service? They will fight for the "peculiar institution" to the last drop of their blood; and if they were assisted by some rifle corps of faithful Seminoles, such an army would resist any invader mad enough to make an attempt on the country. They would besides be an excellent gens d'armes, for watching the movements of these infatuated fools who take the road to Canada, and run off from happiness, freedom and democracy.

Our author quotes the loose and exaggerated statements of Dr. Bowring, in order to show that India is

denied the right of free trade with Britain, and the proof he gives for it is, that India cotton cloths, which used to be extensively consumed in Europe, are now, by the improvements in machinery, replaced by British cotton goods sent to India. So the whole amount of the complaint is, that the people of India are allowed to buy their cotton cloths cheaper than they formerly did, and thus to derive a great addition to their comforts. But it has been said elsewhere, that Britain oppresses India in her commercial arrangements. In the Tribune of Dec. 28, is an article entitled "Talks about the Home League, No. 2," in which it is asserted, on the authority of a writer from India, "that India is wretched and yearly impoverished by the British Colonial system, which fills her with British manufactures at five per cent., and taxes her return products at one hundred per cent."

Instead of such sweeping charges as this being made, it would have certainly been better to have condescended on the articles, on which such heavy duties are paid. But how stands the fact? Cotton wool is the largest article of export from India to Britain, and it is admitted at 4 pence per cwt., being less than one per cent. The duty when it comes from other countries, is 2s. 11d. per cwt. Rice is admitted at one shilling per cwt., and from all other countries 15s. is charged. Saltpetre is 6d. per cwt. Indigo 3 pence per lb., and 4 pence from other countries. Raw silk one penny per lb. Manufactured silk goods from India pay 20 per

cent. *ad valorem*, and from other countries 25 to 30 per cent. Sugar used to be highly taxed, but some years ago the duty was brought down to 24s. per cwt., being the same as on the West India growth. The only article heavily taxed is rum, which pays 15s. per gallon, while West India is admitted at 9s. It is quite evident, therefore, that under whatever evils India is suffering, they do not arise either from high duties on her imports or exports.

Vague statements are made about millions dying in India of starvation. We have already tested our author's veracity, and will not attempt to refute this charge. Such statements carry their own confutation with them. The East India Company, or we should rather say the British Government, has succeeded to all the rights of the ancient sovereigns of India. One of these rights was a heavy tax on land, which forms the chief support of the government. The burden of this tax will be greatly lightened, when the improvements in the cultivation of the soil now in progress shall be brought into full operation. By a late law, Europeans are allowed to occupy and take leases of land, which was formerly prohibited. Meantime, although a large amount of taxation is levied, it does little more than pay the expenses of government, which must ever be great, and which are all expended where they are levied, the surplus scarcely affording a reasonable sum for the home expenses, and dividend to the proprietors of the Company's stock.

Our author asks what Britain has done for India. We will tell him some things she has done. 1st. She has thrown the broad shield of her protection over the persons and property of the inhabitants, in a manner unknown under the former dynasties of India. Hence her popularity, which enables her to retain her power, with such a limited number of Europeans. 2d. She for ever established the inviolable freedom of the press. 3d. She has established the invaluable privilege or trial by jury. 4th. She has expressly prohibited, and for ever put down, the disgraceful and shocking practice of suttees. 5th. She has established native magistrates and judges in every district. This is another excellent hint for the southern states here. A few black magistrates, judiciously planted through the country, would be a great improvement. 6th. She has thrown the whole of her weight and influence in favor of education, which is now making much progress among the natives. 7th. Britain is both nationally and by means of voluntary associations, using the greatest exertions to bring the East Indies under the influence of divine truth.

These are some of the benefits that India has derived or is deriving from her British connection. Every successive administration, has for many years passed some important measure of improvement. Much remains to be done, but every movement is in the right direction. Britain has a fearful responsibility. The millions of India have not been added to her dominion,

in order to give that false glare of greatness which often shines but to deceive, or to encourage pride, that favorite word in every American speech or novel. It is a solemn trust reposed in her, and wo be to her if it is abused. We believe that the British people feel the nature of that trust, and will follow up its high requirements; that they are satisfied that the true solution of their wonderful success in India is, that they have been sent by the Supreme disposer of all events to enlighten, civilize and Christianize the inhabitants.

Whatever has already been done, is entirely passed over by our author, excepting some notices of the missionary exertions, of which one tithe of what has been done is not told. But let us hear what even he says,—page 82. “But the days of East India oppression are numbered.” “Until recently very little has been known in England, of its extent and horrors. The facts however which have been collected, and diffused over England within the last year, have aroused the British people, and they have arisen in their might, determined to overthrow this gigantic structure of wrong.” Singular people! Liberty dead and buried in the grave of Cromwell, nearly two centuries ago, and yet so active. Dead and alive at once.

It has been alleged that the conduct of Britain toward China, is inconsistent with that just and improved system, which the friends of Britain say she pursues to foreign countries and in the United States; it has been roundly asserted, and generally believed, that she com-

menced the present war, to compel the Chinese to take her opium.

The cause of the war with China, is simply this :— An extensive trade, it is well known, is carried on by British subjects in China, both in buying and selling. Opium had been sent from British India to China for many years, and of late its consumption had greatly increased. Turkish Opium was also long sold in the Chinese market, chiefly by American merchants to a considerable extent.

The Chinese government has for some years prohibited the importation of opium, occasionally issuing proclamations and decrees to that effect. The trade was never interrupted ; notwithstanding ships continued to arrive, and the buyers came in boats, and made their purchases, taking them openly ashore. In other cases, the opium was sent ashore under the protection of the Mandarins, who are the constituted authorities of the country. So long did this state of things continue, that every man was satisfied that the Chinese Government were not in earnest, in their prohibitions of this traffic.

At last a sudden attack was made on the merchants resident at Canton, without discrimination. Their houses were surrounded with soldiers, and they were kept prisoners for several weeks. They were threatened with death, unless the whole opium in the ships in the Bay were given up to be destroyed. The opium was of great value, but the lives of so many people were far greater. In such an emergency the insulted foreigners would have appealed to the Ambassadors or

Consuls of their respective governments, but the haughtiness of the Celestial Empire admits no such characters in her dominions, although such representatives have been acknowledged in every nation from the first dawn of civilization.

The only person holding a public situation is the British Superintendent at Canton, who is looked up to as the representative of the British interests, and in some measure also of the foreign merchants of other countries. Mr. Elliot, who held this situation, immediately interposed between the oppressed strangers, and the Chinese Government. Leaving Macao, he proceeded to Canton, depending on his public character; but he fared no better than the others, being confined in his house, and guarded by armed men. In order to save his life, and those of the merchants suffering under this unjust attack, he sent to the owners of the opium ships in the bay, requesting them to surrender the whole to the Chinese, and guaranteeing them from all loss in the name of the British Government—and the whole was given up, to the amount of many millions of dollars, and destroyed by the Chinese.

Now could any nation submit to so violent and outrageous a proceeding? Suppose some contraband traders from Britain were to appear in New York bay, and the American government, instead of sending a force to capture these intruders, as they would unquestionably do, should send Mr. Buchanan to the tombs, along with all the British merchants, on whom they could lay

their hands, although quite unconnected with these illegal transactions, and should say to them:—"Gentlemen, you must either get these smugglers to deliver up their cargoes to be destroyed by us, or we will hang you all to-morrow." The worthy Consul we have no doubt would act, as Mr. Elliot did. But would it be possible to avoid a war between the two countries, after such an outrage, unless satisfaction prompt and complete, was given to the offended party? It is the duty of every country to protect its coasts from smuggling, and no country has a right to complain of another, because her subjects are engaged in that trade.

Britain pays an enormous sum for protection to her coasts against French goods, but has never complained to the French Government on the subject. Opium is a free article of trade to every country, except China, and any restrictions on its importation to China would only produce a system of false papers, which would add another bad feature to a contraband trade. It is an article, besides, absolutely indispensable in medicine. The India Company, although they draw a profit from the production of opium, take no share in sending it to China. No country in the world is so little entitled as China, to ask another to exceed the usual comity of nations, in transactions with her. She has resisted every effort towards that close and intimate connection, which exists between all the other civilized nations of the earth, and which leads to such

an interchange of views and opinions, to prevent misunderstandings which may end in hostile collisions.

The Celestial Empire keeps all the world as suppliants at her gates, and grants them in the most offensive terms, liberty to trade in a certain way, and within certain limits, but haughtily resists every attempt at nearer approaches, by which a more complete knowledge of what her policy and views really are, may be attained. And yet Britain is blamed for resenting this gross outrage on the law of nations.

Would the American government have submitted to such a proceeding? Certainly not. If some Americans at Canton were rescued by British interference, they will of course leave John Bull the trouble and expense of redressing the general injury, well knowing also, that they and other foreigners, engaged in the Chinese trade, will share in the benefits of the new and more favorable arrangements, which will in all probability be the result of the present difficulties. The war has no connection whatever with the continuation of the opium trade. It has not even been alleged, that in all the attempts at negotiation by Britain, that question has ever been mentioned. No country will be so ready as Britain at once to admit, that in every nation rests the sole right to say what article it shall receive from abroad, and what it shall reject. The war was most reluctantly undertaken by Britain, and before doing so, every effort to obtain redress was rejected with disdain, and even a hearing of her complaints denied.

We believe that there is no other instance of such instructions being given to the commanders of any expedition as the British Government gave in this case, viz^z to carry on warlike operations with the smallest possible sacrifice of the lives of the enemy, and the least possible annoyance to the inhabitants. These instructions were particularly followed up. It is deeply to be regretted, however, that the treachery and repulsiveness of the Chinese authorities, should have occasioned a renewal of hostilities, and compelled the British commanders to follow up their successes more vigorously than they were disposed to do.

Whatever annoyances may be brought on the heads of the inhabitants are to be deplored. They must, however, not blame the British Government or Commanders for them, but blame their own authorities. We trust that this war will soon be brought to a termination, and produce favorable results in the end to the Chinese people, and to all who have intercourse with them.

We had written these remarks on the Chinese war, when a publication on "War and Peace," by Judge Jay, was put into our hands. To us, any work with that name attached to it, is ever full of interest, and we found what is contained in all Mr. Jay's works, much good sense, sound principle, and genuine benevolence to mankind. His detestation of war, and earnest exhortations to cultivate the spirit of peace, and

his plan for averting that curse among the nations, must meet the approbation of every right thinking man.

But before pressing these important considerations on his countrymen, in relation to their difficulties with Britain, he makes a violent attack on the British Government for their conduct to the Chinese, using terms which we would not have expected from him. Such an attack from almost any other quarter, we would suppose to have been done to propitiate the sovereign people, before he could venture to speak the truth in a matter relating to themselves. But the high and honorable ground, on which Judge Jay has ever stood, and the independent and fearless manner in which he has espoused the cause of freedom, in his "view of the action of the Federal Government," in relation to slavery, and in other works, place him far above such an imputation.

Dismissing this idea, we are more surprised to find the learned judge pronouncing, so emphatically, sentence on the British Government, without giving such a view of the case, as would enable his readers to arrive at any correct conclusion.

An article appeared in the columns of the *New World*, on 19th February, showing beyond all question, the justice, and absolute necessity of such a war on the part of Britain. If all had read that able *expose* of the causes of the Chinese war, we should not have written one additional word on the subject, but

as this cannot have been the case, we shall make a few remarks on what the learned gentleman has stated.

Mr. Jay introduces the subject in the following manner :

Sir Robert Peel, the present Premier of Great Britain, in a late speech to his constituents, remarked, " I do hope that neither this country, nor the United States, will be *mad* enough to allow a difference of opinion about a boundary, to set them in a hostile position towards each other. Undoubtedly, it is necessary for each country to maintain its honor, *for without maintaining its honor, no country is safe.*"

" Language like this," says Judge Jay, " was unworthily the character and station of the gentleman, who used it, belonging as it does, by prescriptive right to bar-room politicians, and town-meeting demagogues. No country safe without maintaining its honor ! Alas, then, for Great Britain, for at the very time these words were uttered, she was waging against China, one of the most dishonorable and detestable wars that has ever stained her annals. Indeed it is difficult to point to a war recorded in history waged more directly against the health, morals and happiness of a numerous people, or from motives more base and sordid, than the British opium war ; and yet he who is now the prime agent and director of this war talks of the safety of Great Britain as resting on the maintenance of her honor." He afterwards talks of Britain being engaged " at the the point of the bayonet in easing the Chinese of their purses."

It seems impossible to read the above passages without arriving at the painful conclusion, that Judge Jay is in a state of almost entire ignorance as to the grounds of the war between Britain and China. Every expression quoted above, such as war against the *health*, morals and happiness of the people, and then the sordidness of the motives, all lead us to believe that without examining the matter, the benevolent author has imbibed the popular delusion, that Britain has made war on the Chinese to compel them to take opium. No conclusion more wide from the truth could have been arrived at; Britain never having claimed to interfere in the slightest extent with the laws of China respecting the admission of that or any other article.

Mr. Jay has given three reasons only, for the opinion he has formed on this war. First, certain remarks in the *Eclectic Review*. Second, remarks in the *Christian Observer*. Third, the result of a public meeting in London, Earl Stanhope in the chair.

The first two witnesses are unexceptionable, as both the works stand deservedly high for talent and sound religious principle. The expression of their sentiments must have followed the first accounts of the Chinese rupture, and arisen from the rooted antipathy that the people of Britain have to war. The *Eclectic Review* speaks of the "wholesale confiscation of the opium, and of the" breaking up of the haunts of respectable British smugglers," and declares "we have been dealt with according to our deserts. May it provoke us to

repentance and a change of conduct." The Christian Observer says, "if we must have war, it ought to be for a more honorable object than that of indemnifying smugglers, when contraband goods were legally seized and destroyed."

The very extracts given above show that the writers were quite uninformed of the true facts of the case; that they believed that the Chinese government had seized the opium; and that Britain had gone to war for redress.

The third ground relied on by Mr. Jay carries less weight than the other two, viz. the London meeting. In Britain, where freedom really exists, there is no conceivable view which can be taken of a public question, which will not find advocates and supporters, especially if it be in opposition to the party in power for the time. It is not surprising that such a meeting should have been got up, on account of a war supposed to have been commenced to compel the Chinese to take opium, and the excentric Stanhope is just such a person as we should expect to make a hasty and rash decision on a great public measure.

We have probably said enough already on this matter, but cannot refrain from making some quotations from the article in the New World to which we have already alluded. After some pointed remarks on the inviolability of the character of an ambassador, or public representative, the article goes on to state "with slight intermissions, the English have been trading

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posed us more and more to the just indignation of this government and people, and diminished the sympathy of our own; of its futurity, it might be safely predicted that it would fall into the hands of the reckless, the refuse and probably the convicted, of all the countries in our neighborhood; * * * * he could not, however, help indulging the hope that the general reprobation of the whole community would have the effect of relieving him from the performance of a duty on many accounts extremely painful to him. * * * * To the other foreigners present (those not English) he would use the freedom to observe, that he was the only agent in this country whose pursuits were unmixedly public; and, so long as he was advocating the principles of truth and justice in our relations with this government and people, he might take the liberty to say, that he was, in some sense, the representative of their honorable countries as well as his own.'

“Here then we have an indignant and unequivocal condemnation of the contraband trade in opium from the mouth of the representative of that government charged with making war on China to force on its inhabitants the consumption, *bon gré, mal gré*, of that infamous drug. It is an easy matter for those writers who, scorning the trammels of history and facts, impute unworthy motives to others, to misrepresent acts the most meritorious and honorable; for, as the poet says—

‘ A word, a look,
Needs nothing but a foul interpretation,
To turn its simple language into shame.’

“ By the above extract, we have pride also in showing that Captain Elliot, clothed with all the authority of a minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain, was desirous of using the influence of his position for the benefit of other nations than his own; and this line of conduct, we are happy to say, he heartily pursued during the whole course of the difficulties previous to the formal commencement of the war.

“ On the ensuing day Captain Elliot, to give full force and effect to the sentiments above expressed, issued the following public ‘ Notice to British Subjects in China.’

‘ I, Charles Elliot, Chief Superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, moved by urgent considerations immediately affecting the lives and properties of all her Majesty’s subjects engaged in the trade at Canton, do hereby formally give notice, and require, that all British owned schooners, cutters, and otherwise rigged small craft, either habitually or occasionally engaged in the illicit traffic, within the Bocca Tigris, should proceed forth out of the same, within the space of three days from the date of these presents, and not return within the said Bocca Tigris, being engaged in the said illicit traffic.

‘ And I, the said Chief Superintendent, do further give notice and warn all her Majesty’s subjects en-

gaged in the aforesaid illicit opium traffic within the Bocca Tigris in such schooners, &c. &c., that if any native of the Chinese Empire shall come by his or her death by any wound feloniously inflicted by any British subject or subjects, any such British subject or subjects, being duly convicted thereof, are liable to capital punishment as if the crime had been committed within the jurisdiction of her Majesty's Courts at Westminster.

‘And I, the said Chief Superintendent, do further give notice, and warn all British subjects, being owners of such schooners, &c. &c., that her Majesty's Government will in no way interpose if the Chinese Government shall think fit to seize and confiscate the same.

‘And I, the said Chief Superintendent, do further give notice and warn all British subjects employed in said schooners, &c. &c., that the forcible resisting of the officers of the Chinese Government in the duty of searching and seizing is a lawless act, and that they are liable to consequences and penalties, in the same manner as if the aforesaid forcible resistance were opposed to the officers of their own or any other government, in their own or in any foreign country.

‘Given under my hand and seal of office at Canton, this 18th December, 1838.

‘[Signed,] CHARLES ELLIOT, &c.’”

“ On the 17th we had the views and recommendations of the Superintendent, but on the 18th we find these views and recommendations followed by acts urgent and energetic, as the above official document abundantly proves. Here we learn that the representative of the British Government exercised extraordinary powers, far beyond those invested in any ambassador or consul that has come under our notice ; for we know no other instance of the English or any other government using its power and influence to put in force the revenue laws of a foreign country against its own citizens ! We find Elliot also threatening British subjects with trial by the laws of England, for offences committed within the jurisdiction of a foreign power ? It would appear, however, that this address produced a great sensation among the British residents ; not so much on account of the active measures of the Superintendent to suppress all contraband trade, as for the novelty of the doctrines therein contained. For the same jealousy of natural rights that first wrested from King John the great charter of English liberties, and which has constantly watched with Argus eyes over those liberties through several centuries, obliged Mr. Elliot to show upon what authority he exercised those extraordinary powers ; as we find that a few days afterwards, on 31st December, he issued another notice in which he says, ‘ He takes this occasion to republish that part of the Act of Parliament and the orders in Council upon which his instructions are founded.’ In

the same notice, the Superintendent, as if the intentions of the British Government had not yet been sufficiently explicit, reiterates them in even stronger terms. We will not however try the patience of our readers by further extracts on this point; with the exception of the short closing paragraph of that address, which is important as showing the cordial support which he received from the residents themselves. It is in these words: 'It is a source of great support to him that the general body of the whole community settled at Canton, strongly concur with him in the deprecation of this peculiar mischief, and he has not failed to afford her Majesty's government the satisfaction of knowing that such is the case.'

"The numerous public documents that appeared in those exciting times would furnish many additional proofs of the sincere desire of the British Government to put an end to this illicit traffic, and of the hearty condemnation of that traffic by the majority of the foreign residents; but contenting ourselves with the above extracts, taken almost at random, we will now pass on to the opening act of that grand drama, in which two of the greatest powers on the face of the earth play the principal parts,—with eager and anxious natives as the spectators,—a drama whose *denouement* may have a very important influence on a great portion of the earth's inhabitants.

"Early in March, 1839, there arrived at Canton a high personage, whose coming had been heralded forth

for months before,—we mean High Commissioner Lin. Of a remarkably energetic character, as his after proceedings proved, he had been chosen by the Emperor as the person above all others most eminently qualified to put an effectual stop to the growing evil of the opium traffic. Lin received his instructions from the Emperor himself, and, it is said, was invested with powers such as have only been thrice delegated by the monarchs of the present ruling dynasty. He made his public entry into Canton with great pomp and parade, on the 10th of March ; and, having passed eight days in making such inquiries and examinations as he considered necessary, to understand the position of affairs, he issued on the 18th an edict, addressed to ‘ Foreigners of all Nations,’ requiring them first to deliver up to him, to be destroyed, all the opium in their possession, or on board any ship in the Chinese waters ; next requiring them to give bonds to the effect—‘ That those vessels that shall hereafter resort hither, will never again dare to bring opium with them ; and that, should any be brought, as soon as discovery shall be made of it, the goods shall be forfeited to government, and the parties shall suffer the *extreme penalties of the law*, and that such punishment shall be willingly submitted to’—threatening them, in case of nonfulfilment of his orders and the conditions imposed on them, with the severe course of punishment prescribed by the new law. Lin *condescendingly* allowed three days for the foreigners to prepare an answer to his edict and to send it to him.

“ *Simultaneous with this edict* Lin issued instructions that no foreigner should be permitted to leave Canton ; a day or two after all commercial business was stopped, and, the native servants being first withdrawn, the foreigners, made prisoners in their own factories, were surrounded on all sides by armed men. Elliot at this time was at Macao, but, on being informed of these occurrences, he immediately repaired to Canton in his Cutter, where he arrived on the 24th, closely followed by war boats or cruisers. Immediately on his landing, the Chinese authorities issued orders to close more effectually every pass round the factories ; the entrances to the square were shut up and strongly guarded ; and where, during the previous days of their imprisonment, a few men had been placed to watch the foreigners and prevent their escape, large companies of armed men were now stationed, and along the river a triple cordon of boats filled with armed men was drawn. Soldiers also were stationed on the roofs of the adjoining houses.

“ In this ignominious position, closely watched and imprisoned, and dependent entirely on the tender mercies of Lin for their daily supplies of food and water, all the foreign residents remained for the tedious period of more than seven weeks. For a short and concise account of the high-handed measures of Lin toward these defenceless strangers, we prefer to refer our readers to an indignant remonstrance addressed by Elliot to the Emperor shortly after their release, as such doc-

uments, bearing the stamp of official authority, are more likely to gain credit than the simple narrative of an unknown individual. Elliot commences by protesting against Lin's having caused official notices to be publicly placarded and sent to the English ships, 'inciting the English merchants, commanders, and seamen, to disregard his lawful injunctions issued in the name of his gracious sovereign'—(Elliot having, a few days previous, in the name of the Queen, enjoined all British subjects to leave Canton, and to refrain from trading with the Chinese, on the ignominious conditions imposed by the High Commissioner.) The Superintendent then goes on to inform the Emperor of the motives which 'compelled him to require the merchants of his nation to leave Canton, and the ships no longer to return within the Bocca Tigris,' he proceeds as follows; we give his own language:

"On the 24th of March last, Elliot repaired to Canton, and immediately proposed to put an end to the state of difficulty and anxiety then existent, by the faithful fulfilment of the Emperor's will: and he respectfully asked that he and the rest of the foreign community might be set at liberty, in order that he might calmly consider and suggest adequate remedies for the evils so justly denounced by his Imperial Majesty. He was answered by a close imprisonment of more than seven weeks, with armed men day and night before his gates, under threats of privation of *food, water, and LIFE.* Was this becoming treatment

of the officers of a friendly nation, recognized by the Emperor, and who had always performed his duty peaceably and irreproachably, striving in all things to afford satisfaction to the provincial government? When it thus became plain that the Commissioner was resolved to cast away all moderation, Elliot knew that it was incumbent upon him to save the imperial dignity, and prevent some shocking catastrophe on the persons of an imprisoned foreign officer, and two hundred defenceless merchants. For these reasons of *prevailing force*, he demanded from the people of his nation all the English opium in their hands, in the name of his Sovereign, and delivered it over to the Commissioners, amounting to 20,283 chests. That matter remains to be settled between the two courts.

‘ But how will it be possible to answer the Emperor for this violation of his gracious will, that these difficult affairs should be managed with thoughtful wisdom, and with tenderness to the men from afar? What will be the feelings of the most just Prince of his illustrious dynasty, when it is made manifest to him by the command of her Britannic Majesty, that the traffic in opium has been chiefly encouraged and protected by the highest officers of the Empire, and that no portion of the foreign trade to China has paid its fees to the officers with so much regularity as this of opium!! Terrible, indeed, will be His Imperial Majesty’s indignation, when he learns that the obligations into which the High Commissioners entered, under his seal, to the officers of a foreign

nation, were all violated ! The servants were *not* faithfully restored when *one-fourth* of the opium was delivered : the boats were *not* permitted to run when *one-half* was delivered : the trade was *not* really opened when *three-fourths* were delivered ; and the last pledge, that things should go on as usual, when the whole was delivered, has been *falsified* by the reduction of the factories to a prison with one outlet, the expulsion of sixteen persons, some of them who never dealt in opium at all, some clerks, one a lad, and the proposal of novel and intolerable regulations.

‘ Can a great moral and political revolution be effected at the sacrifice of all the principles of truth, moderation, and justice ? Or is it believed that these spoliatory proceedings will extinguish the traffic in opium ? Such hopes are futile, or the Emperor has been deceived.’

“ We will make no further extracts in proof of the several points we have assumed ; let those who dispute them disprove the facts alleged : we have, we think, brought forward testimony sufficiently valid to show not only the want of connivance of the British government at the opium traffic, but such gross and unmerited indignities by the Chinese authorities toward the British Superintendent and other residents, as no independent nation can *with honor* submit to. If those writers, who have so warmly denounced England in the affair, instead of lavishing all their Christian sympathy on a Pagan nation, had shown a little charity to their

Christian brethren, by condescending to inquire into the real facts of the case, they might have found that, strange as it may seem, England could be *once* in the right! The most prominent characteristic of every article that has come under our notice, professing to enter into the merits of the question, has been a *profound ignorance* of the subject. In corroboration of this prevailing ignorance we would refer to the city article of the Arcturus for January last, in which the writer administers the usual dose of virulent abuse of England, but directs his angry indignation especially to horrible atrocities committed by the British soldiery on taking possession of Canton, which we learn from him was "given up to sack and pillage, to the conflagration of its homes and temples, to the plunder of its property, to the violation of its chaste mothers and wives and daughters." Now, in this statement of horrors, one principal ingredient is wanting, and that is *truth*, and, while we regret that the writer should put himself into a fever by beating the air so lustily, we have much pleasure in informing him that those deeds of horror which seemed to move him so deeply, are but the offspring of his own imagination. Canton has *not* been entered by a single British soldier, so far as intelligence has yet reached us—and the *sack* and *pillage* and *conflagration* and *plunder* and *violation* spoken of, he alone is responsible for. It was once said by Talleyrand of a celebrated physician, that he knew a little of everything, *even of medicine*. We would change the expression somewhat, and say

of this writer, that he may know a great deal of other things, but he knows nothing of the subject he attempts to discuss.

“ We believe then that we have made out, that the following charges against the Chinese government are founded in truth and justice :

“ The abrupt stoppage of the whole *legal* trade of the port of Canton ;

“ The close imprisonment, for more than seven weeks, of Her Majesty’s Superintendent, and of all foreigners without distinction, alike the dealers in opium and the many honorable merchants who had ever yielded a willing and scrupulous obedience to the laws ;

“ The open and undisguised threats to hold foreigners responsible with their *lives* for the surrender of the opium, and for any future infraction of the Chinese laws ;

“ The obtaining, through this forcible detention and those threats, the surrender of property to the value of from ten to fifteen millions of dollars ;

“ The attempt to force foreigners to sign bonds, rendering not only themselves, but all others going to China, over whom they have no control, liable to the same penalties ; and, on the refusal on the part of the foreigners to sign such bonds, in the promulgation of an edict by the High Commissioner, declaring the determination of the government to enforce such penalty ;

“ The treacherous non-fulfilment, by High Commissioner Lin, of the promise made to the Superintendent

as to the re-opening of the trade, &c. on the surrender of the opium."

We have extracted largely from the *New World*, on account of the distinctness and excellence of the article, and shall just add one passage more. "We have given we think, a fair history of the violent injuries and indignities in which the war originated; let those who declaim so loudly against the conduct of England, either disprove the facts we have brought forward, or failing in this, prove their insufficiency to provoke a war: there would be some show of right in such a course; but the system hitherto pursued, of wholesale denunciation, where the most important points are suppressed, is as easy as it is unjust and ungenerous. By such a system, in a community ignorant in a great measure of the history of the transactions, it would not be difficult to throw a dark shade of infamy over the ablest struggle for human rights."

Is it necessary to say more on this question? Can this trade be strictly compared to any other case of smuggling? It is a case entirely *sui generis*. For thirty-seven years after the first prohibition by the Emperor, it has been carried on, on payment of a regular duty to the provincial authorities, without any serious attempt to stop it. During that time American merchants participated largely in it.

If the state of New York were to grant regular permission to allow certain articles to be imported on pay-

ment of certain duties, although there had been an act of Congress against it, who can believe that there would not be abundance of vessels arriving with the needful supplies ; and if Congress should for nearly forty years allow this law to remain a dead letter on the statute book, who would not believe, either that the federal government had no wish, or had not the ability to enforce their decree, and that the power with which they had to treat was the state of New York alone.

We know not where Judge Jay got his information about the cruelties said to have been committed by the British troops at Chusan. It is directly in opposition to all other accounts which have hitherto appeared, and is entirely opposed to the humane instructions sent out by the British government.

Mr. Jay quarrels with Sir Robert Peel for speaking about maintaining the honor of the country, and says that such a phrase belongs "to bar-room politicians, and town-meeting demagogues." But what language, however just and appropriate, may not be applied to a bad use ? The great enemy of mankind could quote scripture. Are we on that account to cast aside scriptural language ? We know that a counterfeit honor has been introduced into society, and been made to sanction such crimes as duelling, and other propensities of *honorable men*. But in its legitimate sense, and regarding it as meaning that respect from the world which must flow from a firm maintenance of national rights, we contend that the expression is good. These

national rights must be in strict accordance with that law, which enjoins us "to love our neighbor as ourselves," or the maintenance of them can be attended with no real honor to any country. And in that sense only could the expression have been used by the British Premier. It is singular that while Mr. Jay condemns him for using that expression, he proceeds immediately to justify the use of it, by accusing the British nation of a violation of *honor* in their conduct to China. He first denies the standard, and then proceeds to square his remarks by an appeal to that very standard. Verily this is a singular kind of reasoning of the worthy Judge.

A great difficulty seems to have occurred to him, while writing his article on the Chinese war, which is thus expressed: "To some it may seem paradoxical, that the same government which has exhibited such a sublime devotion to the rights of the negro, should be so callous to the well being of the Chinese. The solution is easy. The opium war is a *government measure* adopted by politicians, and probably with the expectation of receiving political support in return from the East India interest; precisely as certain northern members in Congress, in obedience to southern dictation, and in consideration of southern votes, trample upon the right of petition, and do many other things they ought not. The abolition of slavery and the slave trade, on the contrary, so far from originating with the government, were demanded by the people of Great Britain in a voice which their rulers were afraid

to disregard. Mr. Stanley, one of the ministry, in supporting the Emancipation Bill in the House of Commons, declared that so loudly was it called for by the public, ' that no ministry could retain office who refused it.' ”

We regret to find Mr. Jay falling into an error, which is shared by some abolitionists, who while they cannot avoid acknowledging what Britain has done for the unfortunate and injured Africans, speak of it as done by the British philanthropists, or the British people, thus placing them in contrast with the Government, which they seem to allege can do nothing right. Nothing can be more unfair, or show how difficult it is to get the smallest portion of justice to Britain awarded within the United States.

A glance at the past history of anti-slavery exertions in Britain will sufficiently show how much the people and government are at one on the question.

There can be no reason to doubt the sincerity of Mr. Pitt in his desire to put an end to the atrocious slave trade. But he was restrained by other members of his cabinet, by the West India interest in parliament, and by a large portion of the community who were afraid to make what they thought an experiment of a dangerous character, while the country was engaged in so serious a war.

The death of Pitt early in 1806 entirely changed the scene. The Tory ministry broke up, and was succeeded by the Grey and Grenville Whig Administration.

It was soon made apparent that no fear for consequences deterred that wise and virtuous ministry, from the performance of what they considered to be their duty to the country and to the world. With a narrow majority in the House of Commons, they at once carried through that great work of justice, which Pitt, in the plenitude of his power, and with his overwhelming majorities, had either been unable or was afraid to push to its consummation, and in 1807, the slave trade was for ever prohibited to British subjects. No greater efforts were then made from without, by Mr. Wilberforce and his friends, than they had often done before; and who then cast the scale? It was the Whig statesmen of England. Is not this historical fact, and well known to many living witnesses?

And who passed the West India Emancipation Act in 1834? The same class of statesmen who passed the act of 1807, and some of them the same individuals. The same Charles Grey, who was First Lord of the Admiralty in 1806 and '7, was Prime Minister in 1834. The same Lord Henry Petty, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first period, was, when Marquis of Lansdown, a leading Cabinet minister in 1834. And Lord Holland, the nephew of Fox, held office in both administrations, and gave his powerful assistance to both those glorious acts. These illustrious and consistent statesmen exhibited to the world, that they did not hold one set of opinions when out of power, and another when the seals of office were committed to their care.

They had remained out of office for nearly half a century, excepting the thirteen months of Whig rule in 1806--'7. They retired when the liberal measures they contemplated for the Irish Catholics could not be accomplished, and after a lapse of twenty-seven years, and with all their ripened experience, several who had done much to carry the first great measure in favor of the Africans, faithful to their principles, nobly finished their good work, by setting free the West India slaves.

But the Government were forced into the measure, says Mr. Jay, by fear of the people. What! were Lushington, O'Connell, Jeffrey, Buxton, or McAulay, firm supporters of the Ministry, or members of the administration, influenced *by fear* to accomplish the work which they had toiled and struggled through life to bring to a favorable termination? Did any man do more for the cause than Henry Brougham, and did he exhibit any *fear* when he put the finishing hand, as Chancellor of England, to what he had so anxiously labored to accomplish? The very men who, as statesmen, finished this great act of national justice, were the very men who had done most for it out of doors, and who had contributed most to awaken the public mind to their duty in regard to it. Every person we have mentioned, was a Whig statesman or politician from his youth upwards.

The Tory party also contained many warm and influential friends of abolition, both in Parliament and

out of it. The treaties with Spain and Portugal for the suppression of the slave trade, and the payments made to these powers, were done by a Tory administration. The laws and orders in Council, restraining the slave proprietors from the exercise of some of their powers over their slaves, were also passed under the same regime. The regulations introduced in 1823, respecting the observance of the Sabbath and the power of the lash, must ever reflect credit on the memory of George Canning; and the distinct, humane and benevolent directions of Lord Bathurst, then Colonial Secretary, confer honor on that department of government.

Accustomed to be too much guided by precedents, and restrained by the cold and chilling influence of such minds as Lord Eldon's, the Tories were ever afraid to go to the root of any disease under which the institutions of the country labored. Humane and just men among them often shrunk from oppression, when it was vividly exhibited to them. They would remedy the particular evil complained of, but they recoiled from the use of such a remedy as would for ever prevent a recurrence of these evils. The Whig statesmen took a higher and more extended view of their duty, and the moment the opportunity presented itself, they for ever blotted out the enormity of West India slavery; and whether justice is done to them now or not, posterity will yet inscribe their names among the greatest benefactors of the human race.

It is in vain for Mr. Jay to compliment the people of Britain at the expense of the government. No public measure was ever brought about where less party or political spirit was mixed up, or which received more generally the approbation of all classes of the British public. And since the causes of the Chinese war have been known, no party would now speak of it in the way Mr. Jay has done. The long forbearance of Britain before they would strike the blow—the absolute impossibility of having any power to mediate, where the complaints of the aggrieved party were not even allowed to be heard, must satisfy every reflecting mind that the only course left was war. It is true Britain might have submitted to the loss, to the insult and degradation, and for ever withdrawn from all intercourse with the Chinese Empire. But could their Indian Empire have been maintained after such a proceeding? Impossible.

We join Mr. Jay in his condemnation of war, and are confident that if as much spirit of conciliation as was exhibited towards the Chinese, had been exhibited by Lord North and William Pitt, the two capital errors in the reign of George Third, viz. the American war, and the French war of 1793, never would have been committed.

There are some singular statements in Mr. Jay's work. He speaks of a *second* rupture and contest between Prussia and France, which never occurred, making the termination of it take place with the treaty of

Luneville in 1801, when Prussia had in fact retired from the contest seven years before, and never renewed the war till 1806, when the fatal battle of Jena was fought.

In condemning Britain's warlike propensities, he notices the negotiations commenced by Napoleon, but entirely omits the anxious and sincere proposals for peace by the British ministry in 1806, when Lord Lauderdale was sent over to Paris, which proposals Bonaparte broke off with the greatest rudeness, when he was about to set out on his campaign against the Prussians.

The following singular passage in Mr. Jay's work, we cannot avoid noticing. Page 68 :—"The power of Napoleon was indeed checked, and finally destroyed, but not by the arms of England; and his banishment to Elba was effected almost without the aid of a British musket." Every one who knows the history will be lost in astonishment at such a statement.

The last blow struck against Bonaparte in 1814, was by the British at Toulouse, who, with a large force of British and Peninsular soldiers, had cut their way into the heart of France. In fact, the drain of the French military had been as great in Spain, and as much the cause of Bonaparte's downfall, as his losses in Russia or Germany. We conclude our remarks on Judge Jay's work, with a most cordial wish that the plan of settling national differences suggested by him, may be soon adopted.

We now return to Mr. Lester.

We have already alluded to his lukewarmness in the cause of the abolition of slavery, and we cannot produce a stronger proof of his heartlessness on that subject, than his remarks on the glorious Act of West India Emancipation. In the 1st volume, p. 109, he says : “ The emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British Colonies was very noble, considered as an act of humane legislation, and the result has been, all that the friends of that act could have anticipated. This is the united voice of hundreds who have gone there to see the working of the experiment, and Parliament has confirmed their statements, that freedom has worked well. But still there is a consideration connected even with this glorious act, not a little painful. The £20,000,000, which were the price of taking off the fetters of colonial slavery, *have* only increased the burden of the already crushed working classes of England. That great sum has swollen the national debt, before so enormous, still more, and there is some force in the saying of the Chartists, that the English people have paid the Throne £20,000,000 for sending ships to the Colonies, to bring back cast aside negro fetters, to be fastened on themselves at home.”

Seldom has a passage so utterly base and heartless as this fallen under our observation. Does this man dare to compare the case of a small fraction of taxation, which he supposes the working man to pay towards the interest of the twenty millions, with the inestimable blessing conveyed to 800,000 of our fellow men, of re-

relief from slavery, bodily, mental and moral? The language of freedom from the mouth of a man such as this bespeaks the writer to be, is the very essence of mockery. There is not in the history of the world an act to be compared with West India Emancipation, for moral grandeur. But it is little understood here. Money to an immense amount was freely given from a sense of justice alone. Some have doubted the purity of the motive. This man ventures not to do so, but along with a few wicked and unprincipled men called Chartists, he sets up a whine about adding to the national debt.

No new taxes were levied when the emancipation bill was passed; on the contrary the sugar duties were greatly reduced on that very year. But why not lament over the injury to the British people, from the vast amount of their capital which has been expended by Southern slaveholders in ruinous and extravagant projects, or in profligate and profuse personal expenditure? This is a theme worthy of being dwelt upon, for alas! it has been lost, and done little good to any one. How different the delightful reflection attending the twenty million expenditure!

We close this head by noticing the goodly prospect held out by this Delegate's views of American Abolition. In vol. 2d, p. 50, he says—"One more item will close what I have to say about India."

The planter will say—"Well, suppose we do emancipate our negroes? If what you have said be true, I

am a ruined man. For although slavery is an expensive system, yet with free labor, we cannot compete with cotton raised by laborers forced to work for six pence a day or starve? To which our author replies, "I think, my good sir, you are not a ruined man, though you should liberate your slaves; you would expect, of course, to receive compensation for them when given up; and no law, I admit, would justly demand their release, without a fair compensation; and the moment you perform so wise, humane, and generous an act, you will find by experience, the superior economy of free over slave labor."

There is an abolitionist!—see how gently he deals "*with the lad.*" "My good sir," is his language to the buyer and seller of souls and bodies. Not one appeal to conscience, but smoothing and searing that conscience with the impression, that there is no call on him to part with his bondsmen, till the price is paid: well does he know that the price cannot be paid by this country, that they have not the means, and that unless there is a mighty change in the people, they would not part with the means, if they had them to bestow. But if they are paid, where would be the GENEROSITY of the act? Let the Rev. Gentleman explain that.

Compensation! Yes the British nation gave what is called a compensation, and for ever prevented the enemies of freedom saying, that they had done a noble act at the expense of others. But we could have added another compensation clause; that the planters

should have given half the money they received from the generosity of the British people, to the survivors of those who had suffered for generations under the horrors of West India slavery. That would be a part of our compensation bill, if such shall ever be passed in the United States. We would not send them away empty handed. But alas ! the chains will not be broken in this way. Yet we indulge a hope that the roused consciences of the Southern proprietors, will do what we shall look for in vain from the avowed principles of such Northern abolitionists as the author of "the Glory and Shame of England."

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

WE shall make some remarks in the way of contrast between the government and people of England, and those of the United States. We intend to call things by their right names. But before doing so, we shall make some farther extracts from the abusive and insolent work, entitled "The Glory and Shame of England."

We repeat that if this work had not been adopted and praised by so many literary and religious publications in this country, we should have abstained from some of the remarks which follow. In volume 1, p. 141, it is said, "To talk of English happiness, is like talking of Spartan freedom—the Helots are overlooked." Page 143, "The life of an English operative is a perpetual scene of suffering and wrong." Page 148, "But I believe Parliament has never on such occasions, given to the people any more liberty or justice, than they were obliged to; conceding just enough to bribe the masses into silence *for the time*. This is the policy of men who tame wild beasts; they give them food to stop their savage ravings, but to enfeeble them by hunger as much as they dare, that they may be the more easily controlled."

“ Would free Americans brook such a government.”
“ Parliament has never yet granted the subjects of the British Crown, what are called inalienable rights with us.” Page 174, “ The people of England were never more ripe for a revolution.”

Vol. 2, page 24. In addressing a supposed English lady of rank and title, he says: “ A word in your ear, aye in your ivory turned ear, where hang those diamond drops. Why, those sparkling pendants were bought with money robbed from these same beggars—that glittering necklace, ‘ which Jews might kiss, and infidels adore,’ believe it or not, is wrung from the hard hands of starving peasants; and every ring on those taper fingers, has famished a family of your fellow creatures. Every birth day dress has driven a sister to the streets, and there is not a ball at Almack’s which is given at a less cost than alone fills the brothel;”
“ there are three half naked urchins thrust out of their mother’s house to steal for bread! that is your doing.” Page 274, “ It matters little, what nick-name a robber has, the world only thinks the worse of you for being a duke, when you steal from God’s poor.”

A foreign Journalist is quoted with approbation in the same page, who says, “ Coarse and insolent Britain! raze from your country’s shield the noble lion, and place in its stead, a *squalid and starving wretch, vainly imploring a morsel of bread.*” In page 279. “ But the time is at hand, when the money so long robbed from the poor, to support the carriage of the squire,

gild the coronet of the peer, deck the jewelled throng of Almack's perfumed halls, shall provide for the wretched a home ; where cheerful faces shall beam with honest joy around loaded tables, where the voice of health and salvation shall be heard ; and where the *rich man shall trouble them no more.*"

What a mercy it is, that Utica is so far beyond the patroon of Albany's extensive domains, or it might have been time for him to look after this amiable and Rev. revolutionist !

Again, we are told, in page 281, " I had *so long* witnessed* the oppressions and sufferings of the English people, that I longed to step once more upon the free soil of my childhood, and thank the God of my fathers, with heartfelt gratitude, that I had a free home to go to." Page 284. " Much has been said against Cromwell, but none will deny that it was under his splendid administration, English liberty assumed its broadest character." And in speaking of the Puritans, " England was unconscious at the time, that the greatest of her offspring were taking with them, the fruits of that revolution to a forest home, where they would rear an empire, that could not be conquered." In p. 288, " It is as certain, that the English government will be overthrown, as that it is God's sublime purpose, to emancipate a long fettered world, unless she shall cease her obstinate and blind opposition to the progress of freedom, and grant the people justice."

* Query, was it *four* or *five* weeks.

“ No man who feels in his own soul the lofty spirit of the age, and tracks the progress of the Car of Liberty, as it rolls among the nations, can believe that England will be able much longer to breast herself up against the advancement of humanity.” “ The majestic movements of Providence can be clearly seen ; a train of causes are in operation too mighty to be resisted by the crumbling thrones of despotism.” In p. 289, “ Ambition and injustice have made up the history of her diplomacy for centuries past,” and in winding up, in p. 293, “ Let her remember too, that a power greater than her own has left no trace of its existence in Italy ; and that the barbarian's steed long ago made his manger in the golden house of Nero.”

What a mass of vulgar raving and abuse is here—England is about to be destroyed—Carthago delenda est. The Rev. Mr. Lester, who has felt the lofty spirit of the age, who has taken a journey in the car of liberty, as it rolls along among the natives, has pronounced sentence, and that is enough. Let us pause for a little and examine what symptoms appear in that country to indicate the predicted downfall. No nation ever fell without exhibiting symptoms of such downfall neither few nor equivocal. Let us trace her history since the peace of 1815.

After such a war as the world never witnessed, Britain came out of the contest crowned with victory. But the wounds she had received were many and severe. A load of debt was left on her shoulders, un-

known to history in ancient or modern times. Her very first step was to restore her currency of silver and gold, which had been much deteriorated during the war. This was done in 1817, and it has ever since been in full and copious supply, for all the wants of the country. Her next was to restore her paper currency to the standard of gold, and this was also effected in 1821, and from that time to this, every bank bill has been payable in specie, on demand.

The attention of the British public had been intensely engaged during the war in defending their national independence and existence. They now turned their attention to those organic changes in the constitution which the lapse of time and change of circumstances rendered necessary. Every movement in that direction was steadily opposed by the Tory party, who had a deep personal interest in maintaining the rotten borough system of representation. No progress was made for some years, and on the contrary, from 1817 to 1820, from the distress of the operatives producing some disturbances, a system of espionage was introduced, and laws were passed unfavorable to liberty, and free discussion.

In 1822, a great change took place, and a more liberal administration succeeded, chiefly under the auspices of Canning, and the obnoxious laws were soon after all repealed. From this time to 1830 a variety of beneficial changes were effected, and many taxes were abolished, and a great reduction of national expenditure

effected. The Test, and Corporation Acts, which had long been felt as a grievance by the Dissenters were repealed, and the Act of Catholic emancipation passed.

In 1830 George 4th died, and was succeeded by his honest, and liberal minded brother, William. The Whigs came into office in the same year, and the great Reform Bill passed in 1832, annihilating those boroughs which had fallen into decay, and extending the elective franchise generally to householders, whose rents were L. 10 per annum and upwards. This measure has been followed by others of vast importance to the country, and to the civilized world. The most searching inquiries have been made into every branch of income and expenditure of the revenue, and many additional reductions effected—the Poor Laws have been improved, Education encouraged and extended, and the Church reformed.

India has received many of the benefits, already noticed, within that time. The Chinese trade has been thrown open. The noble act abolishing slavery in the West Indies has been completed. Britain had bought the consent of Spain and Portugal to abandon the slave trade, and has ever since been unwearied in her endeavors, and at much expense, to destroy that atrocious trade. She has sent an expedition to Africa, to sow the seeds of civilization and knowledge. She has passed many bills in favor of the working classes. Factory, children, colliers, and even chimney sweep boys have alike received the protecting care of the British Parliament.

By prompt and decisive measures Britain stopt the effusion of blood in the East, and instead of catching the inflammatory spark raised in France, she looked on coolly, until the violence of Thiers and his followers had expended itself, and then held out the hand of friendship to her irritated and excitable neighbors.

In like manner, when Andrew Jackson sent forth his furious message about the French, the British government at once came forward, frankly and cordially, with an offer of mediation between the contending parties.

If these things are symptoms of national decline, we shall at once yield the point to the Rev. calumniator of Great Britain. If all the evils which afflict humanity have not been remedied by the British Parliament, it is from no want of will. Whatever the working classes suffer, arises from causes over which neither government nor legislature can exercise control.

When people suffer, they frequently look in the wrong direction for the cause. Britain has an overgrown population of twenty-seven millions, including Ireland, and vast numbers of them are in large towns.

Her manufacturing population have been deep sufferers, from her connection with the United States, as we have already shown. It is rather too much to hear the working people of Europe styled, in the slang of the American journals, *European paupers*, even by some from whom better things might have been expected, when the severest blow they have ever received was from the amount of British capital profligately spent by the United States.

The only exception, of consequence, to the improved measures, which the British Parliament ought to have passed, is the alteration of the corn laws. We have no doubt that a change is also at hand in regard to them, notwithstanding the accession of the Tories to power.* But come that change when it may, it will be found to work no charm on the condition of the working man. The change it will effect on the price of corn will be little felt by him, and this, like many other popular delusions, which have had their day, will soon go "to the tomb of all the capulets."

But, as already noticed, material good will be done, by lessening the fluctuations, which prevail to such an extent under the present system. Such a change will benefit the land owner, the farmer, and the consumer. We ask our author's pardon. The rich are to trouble the poor no more. We should not have mentioned the land owner. But we hope to be excused, being old-fashioned in our views.

But we are told that the distress in Britain is past endurance, and all is attributed to the Government and aristocracy. We have already expressed our belief that if all were known, much distress would be found also, in the United States.

We have just taken up the Tribune of 31st Decem-

* Since the above was written, Sir Robert Peel's plan has been brought out, which will make importation more free, but it does not go far enough, leaving the duties too high, and will ultimately give no satisfaction to the country.

ber, and find the following appeal, which we presume is from the pen of Mr. Greely, whose heart is always in the right place, and his head too, excepting when advocating the absurd and antiquated doctrines of "the protective system."

"REMEMBER THE POOR.

"The cheerless influences of winter are upon us—the season which has stern features even for the thrifty and the affluent, but whose fiercest frowns are reserved for the destitute and the poor—and shall we not think, amid the festivities, the friendly greetings of to-morrow, of the condition of those sad-browed children of humanity—those step-children of a harsh and sullen world? Who can refrain from calling often to mind the condition of this large class of our fellow citizens, the comfortless and famishing? Who will not consider, that there are at this moment, *from thirty to fifty thousand human beings* in our city, who are destitute of the means of a week's comfortable subsistence, many of whom will rise up this morning in despair of obtaining food for the opening day, and lodging for the coming night? Can it be, that the wealthy and luxurious citizens realize, that there are at this moment, within a stone's throw of sumptuous halls, parties, and revels, frequently one hundred human beings huddled in a dreary rookery, which pays more rent by piece-meal, than our best dwellings. Yet they are dilapidated, filthy, and unglazed, often two or three families in a single desolate room, with the wind

whistling through broken windows, as they crowd around a pan of charcoal, whence they are inhaling the fumes of death! Can our humane and affluent ladies know, that while thousands are idly lavished in ostentation, extravagance, or pernicious indulgence, there are just around them, thousands of virtuous women and innocent children, shivering in *cellars*, garrets, and tottering hovels, pining in shrinking wretchedness, for the food and clothing, *which they cannot find employment to earn*, even when they have health and strength to labor! Disease in all its most terrific forms, fed by famine, exposure, and sleeping on scanty rags in fetid dews, often in close contact with the damp earth, or scarcely protected from the inclement sky, is here entirely at work, and Death is too often the only friend that proffers relief. A sad and revolting picture, yet one that should be urged on the public attention—for alas! the grim reality is knocking at our doors. Something must be done to alleviate the condition of the poor, and done now. The alms-house is full, and who that knows what it is, dare speak of it as a refuge for the destitute.”

In the same paper, is the following notice :

“REMEMBER THE POOR.—The ladies of Dr. Spring’s congregation meet as a sewing circle to-day, in the Sunday-school room of the Brick Church Chapel, to make up clothing for the destitute poor of our city. We are requested by one who feels great interest in their benevolent object, but is not a member of that

society, that donations of cloth, or second-hand clothing, transmitted to this circle, will speedily reach the freezing inhabitants of our miserable cellars, doubled in value in its progress."

In another number is the following notice, dated January 15, 1842.—

"GREAT SUFFERINGS OF THE POOR OF OUR CITY.—The Relief Association find many in *starving circumstances*, out of employment, and destitute, and having fed over 1000 persons in four days, are pressed for aid beyond their means, and will be compelled to stop next week unless the liberal will sustain them. Meat, bread, clothing, &c. will be well given out, if sent to 187 Bowery."

We believe that these feeling appeals have been fully responded to, and that much relief has been afforded to the sufferers. But are we awake or not? Here is a number from thirty to fifty thousand in a state of starvation—say the medium of forty thousand. This is 13 1-3 per cent. on a population of 300,000. Can this be possible? Is there so much distress and deep misery in America?

There must be some mistake. "In my country such scenes are never witnessed." Let Mr. Lester immediately come out against the Government, against the corn laws, against the aristocracy of America.

But the corn laws are moderate, the Government is the people's own, and there is no aristocracy—oh! no. We are all sovereigns, every one of us—and why is

there such distress ? We cannot tell. Republicanism cannot, it seems, keep it away. The ultra Democratic double distilled Republican Young Men's Convention, cannot save society from those common evils which afflict the oppressed countries of Europe. Hunger and cold will not even respect the sovereign people. It is hard that the heirs apparent to the throne, are also heirs to the commonest sufferings of our nature. If it had only been the gout, said Chesterfield, but rheumatism, a porter's complaint, it is too bad ; and that too on the " only spot of God's green earth, where liberty dwells," and which is a refuge to all the poor and miserable of Europe.

Far be it from us to speak lightly of human suffering in any shape, or wherever it exists. We are merely showing the absurdity of those pretensions which are ever set up by such authors as Mr. Lester. Here we have people famishing for want, freezing from cold, in thousands, and living in damp and unwholesome cellars, and the information comes from the best authority. And the halls are here too, the sumptuous halls, and the gay assemblies of people, rolling in wealth and splendor." Do let us have a work on the shame of America, denouncing the whole race, who have dared to get rich, to utter destruction.

What difference can it make, whether the ball be led down by a Dutchess at Almacks, or by Governors, Generals, Congressmen and cook-maids ? They can have no right to spend their money in giving employ-

ment to those who furnish for these occasions. It has been decided that every pair of diamond ear-rings, and every ball dress, drives the poor to rob, and steal, and commit every vice. And what is immorality in Britain, must be so in America. The British Government has for the last twenty years labored to lighten the burdens of the people, and to benefit the working classes. The American Government, during very deep distress, took no steps but such as augmented the evil. The government of President Harrison, we doubt not, sincerely felt the duty of doing all that a government can do for a people. But the time was not afforded them to do so, and the caprice and folly of the people and their representatives, are again carrying matters into an opposite direction.

“The poor ye have always with you,” was the saying of Him who spake as never man spake; and every attempt to destroy the ranks which exist in society, has ever, and must ever prove abortive—being in direct violation of one of the deepest seated principles of our nature. The transcendentalism which would shut out the inhabitants of a country from all other countries, in order to maintain a kind of forced level between the working classes and the holders of capital, is as absurd as it would be pernicious, if it could be effected. Mr. Lester is a profound admirer of Dickens. As the latter gentleman is now here, we propose that he should carry him through the New York Alms-house, in order to get some fresh hints for his next work.

We have merely presented a picture of one large city in the Union—doubtless others would exhibit great distress to the eye of the philanthropist. The State Governments who have repudiated their bonds, have done much to effect this, and it requires no seer's powers to predict, that the fatal effects of this conduct have not been felt to the full extent. The foreign imports will be wanted to fill an exhausted Treasury, when they cannot be got.

Much has been said about the want of liberty in Britain. We propose to compare the state of liberty in that country with its state in America. We will define our views of liberty. We conceive it to be a system which maintains the protection of person and property; which secures every individual right not inconsistent with such protection; which sustains the majesty of the law, and contains powers within itself to prevent the loss or abeyance of these inestimable blessings, and to make such changes in the laws as the advancing state of the world requires. This liberty, it has been well observed, has four important supports: Liberty of speech, right of petition, trial by jury, and a free press. On these four massive wheels the majestic car of liberty can alone be borne. Take away any one of them, and it must move heavily along;—take two away, and the car of liberty is in the dust.

“English liberty (says our author) had its broadest foundations during his (i. e. Cromwell's) splendid ad-

ministration." Now, we never knew any man who was a genuine friend of liberty, who admired Oliver Cromwell. With such persons you will invariably find that it is republicanism, not liberty, that they admire. It is not tyranny that they dislike, but monarchy. Cromwell was like many republicans, a seeker of power. Republicanism was with him as with Napoleon Bonaparte, the ladder by which he reached that power. Both kicked away the ladder, when the power was attained. Will our author say what stone was ever laid on the temple of freedom by Cromwell after he reached his elevation? He broke up the remains of the Rump Parliament with a military force, crying out as the last vestige of popular power disappeared:—"Take away that bauble."

He summoned another Parliament consisting of his own creatures, who went such lengths in folly, that even their master was ashamed of them. Part of the proposals of these enlightened legislators, was to burn all records of past events, to abolish all learning, and that the world should begin a-new. He broke them up, and ruled by a military despotism, without control, or even the appearance of it. He would gladly have accepted the offer made to him by his sycophants, of the crown, but was afraid to do so. He had a splendid foreign administration, it is true, and the manner in which he kept the haughty Roman Catholic sovereigns of the Continent in order, and shielded the persecuted followers of the Protestant faith, must ever redound to his credit.

But Edward Third had a splendid administration—so had Henry Fifth, and so had Queen Elizabeth; and yet the whole race is condemned by our author without mercy, while he who put on the garb of freedom, but disowned its high and holy principles by his practice, is held up to approbation by a man calling himself a republican. We have often been astonished to hear men styling themselves democratical republicans, praising Napoleon Bonaparte. That unprincipled man went farther lengths than Cromwell, and yet because he was not born to royalty, and because he overturned ancient dynasties, he is still looked on with respect by republicans, and all his tyranny and ambition are forgotten. The splendid administration, and splendid talents of these ambitious men, only rendered them more dangerous to the liberties and independence of nations.

The solution of such strange inconsistency is plainly this, that many republicans are not favorable to liberty, and many understand nothing of its genuine principles. It is too readily assumed that republicanism is synonymous with freedom, but such is not necessarily the case. Oppression by a majority is just as much oppression as by a king or aristocracy; and the oppression becomes truly fearful, when that majority delegates its power to wicked and selfish men, and is so ignorant that it is not aware when that power is abused.

Liberty has three great stages. The first is a desire for national independence; the second is to add to national independence, the enjoyment of personal freedom, and of such social and political privileges as

are necessary for an enlightened community. The third, in addition to the other two, arises when the nation is so enlightened as fully to estimate all the advantages of these high privileges, and to desire to see them extended to all nations less favorably situated. In short, it is the progress of that law of love which makes a man love his neighbor as himself. This does not show itself by coarse and insolent boasting, as some nations indulge in, far less by forcing institutions on other countries. It is a calm, and temperate, and prudent system, instructing by its voice and example, protecting the weak when there are just grounds of interfering, and ever engaged in breaking down those bulwarks of separation and disunion which have so long estranged the human family from each other.

On the first head we need say little as to Britain or the United States. The independence of Britain has not been seriously threatened from the days of the Spanish Armada, till the time of Napoleon Bonaparte. That fearful war, which the friends of liberty in Britain almost unanimously disapproved of, in a few years changed its character. It was no longer a war to stop the progress of that liberty in France, which every free heart hailed with rapture. The atrocious monsters who carried through the French Revolution, soon showed that liberty with them meant only power, and republicanism only death to all who differed from them in opinion. It then became, under the brilliant military Despot, a war for the national independence of

every country, and Britain threw herself into the arena, and never came out till she had achieved her own independence and those of surrounding nations.

All were lost in admiration of her heroic conduct, and all heard with delight the resound of those astounding blows, given in the cause of the independence of nations but one people, and those were her own descendants.

A world was up in arms, and then a spot
Not quickly found, if negligently sought,
Thy soul as ample as thy bounds are small,
Endured the brunt, and darest defy them all.

When the Lion was encompassed in the toils of the whole world, then was the time chosen for striking the parricidal blow. Oh! it was of no consequence that Britain was resisting the most dangerous power of ancient and modern times. It was of no consequence that she was the only refuge of the oppressed against a wicked and unprincipled tyrant. Some little matters about a few sailors' rights were to be settled, and the magnanimous states joined the enemy alike of freedom and national independence.

We have said that national independence is the first stage of freedom. That was secured by the United States at the Revolution, which was won by the wisdom and patriotism of the Fathers of that Revolution, and by the valor and constancy of the people. But it is a great mistake to suppose that national independence is necessarily liberty. The Russians, fought bravely for

their national independence, when invaded by the French, but had they any idea of personal freedom? Certainly not. The Don Cossacks followed their chieftains to battle with all the faithfulness and ferocity of feudal times, but never looked, nor hoped for personal freedom. Had the mass of the people of Spain any correct ideas of their personal rights, when they resisted the most atrocious and treacherous attacks of Bonaparte? A few patriots had, and they suffered for it, but the mass of the people, when the beloved Ferdinand returned from captivity, threw up their caps for "absoluto rei."

Many nations have conquered their independence and never reached the second stage, viz. the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges. It is long since Britain entered on the second stage of her political existence, and her institutions are the basis on which all who have attempted to erect the fair fabric of freedom have mainly relied for their foundation. Her liberty was recognized at Runymede, it was fully established at the Revolution of 1688, and it was surrounded by a wall of adamant, and received fresh dignity and lustre by the Reform Bill of 1832. It growled defiance at the too powerful Plantagenets and Tudors. It grew up in its strength, and for ever drove the weak and tyrannical Stuarts from the land. It has conquered more insidious foes in modern times. Dark clouds in times of turbulence and shaking of nations, have for a time shaded its majestic brow. It has survived

them all, and now stands out in all its power and might, a star of surpassing brightness to guide the surrounding world.

Let us see how the United States stand in this respect. The national independence, we have said, was secured at the Revolution, and we are certain is safe against all foreign interference. Every man would rally around the standard of his common country, if attacked by a foreign power, having conquest in view. But so would the Russians, so would the Turks, so would the Persians. Would such conduct show that they were free, or understood the principles of freedom and rights of free men? Certainly not. But there is no risk of foreign war upon the United States, unless it is brought on by themselves. Just let them act with common discretion, and the ordinary portion of respect, which one country should show to another, and they will never be put to the trouble of defending themselves, or attacking their neighbors.

But did the American nation enter into the second great stage of liberty, viz. the possession of equal rights, when they secured their national independence? Doubtless it was the desire of the founders of the nation, that they should do so. There breathed not a wish within the pure and noble breast of George Washington, inconsistent with genuine freedom. We cannot mention the name of that great and good man, without thinking of what a noble order was his ambition, when compared with that of the vulgar and vain glorious ambition of

Cromwell and Bonaparte,—and yet we are quite certain that had Washington struck down the new institutions of his country, and made himself despot of it, he would have been more admired by politicians of Mr. Lester's class, than he now is.

If he had only secured a *brilliant administration*, so as national pride and vanity would have been flattered, liberty might have been allowed to take her flight to other regions. But that illustrious man never harbored such a thought, but ever threw his weight into the scale of freedom and equal rights. These were secured to the American people by the fathers of the revolution, with one fearful exception, viz: Slavery. Doubtless these wise and good men believed, that slavery could not long exist in a country having free institutions.

Ask yourselves now, ye republicans, ever boasting of your freedom, what use you have made of that freedom, so nobly bequeathed to you by your ancestors? What fruit have you produced from that plant of renown, which was sown by the wisdom and care of Washington, of Franklin, and of Adams, under the overruling care of a gracious Providence. Sift yourselves at the bar of public opinion and answer. Can you say, that you have improved that talent of countless value, employing it in enlarging the bounds of freedom, and surrounding it by new bulwarks, and in sustaining the rights of private judgment. Oh! you can say no such thing. You cannot even say you have hid your talent in a napkin, for you have lost much of what was entrusted to you.

What! do not our lecturers assure us, that we are the freest people on earth? Do not our orators on the fourth of July, assure us that there is nothing to be compared to us for greatness, and goodness, and nobleness of character. Do not our pulpits on Thanksgiving Day, also confirm their statements? Was it not a few weeks ago only that Mr. Austin, lecturing at New York, assured us, we were the great, enlightened, and freest country, the chivalry of the earth—and has not Mr. Lester, who is a clergyman, assured us, on the word of an American, name unknown, who had it from Lord Byron, that America is “the only spot on God’s green earth, where liberty dwells.”

This is all true, but then these people flatter and deceive you, and keep you in ignorance of your true character. You are all sovereigns, despotic sovereigns, or heirs apparent at least, and when was the truth ever told to despotic sovereigns? Clitus lost his life for telling it to the haughty Macedonian, and John Quincy Adams has been repeatedly threatened with similar consequences, for speaking truth to the sovereign princes of America. Is this not so? Ask yourselves every one of you that can put two ideas together.

Your republic is not yet sixty years old, and already two of the wheels are off your chariot of liberty, and your chariot lies in the dust. Freedom of speech is gone in that place, where it should ever be most sacred. Right of petition has been trampled under foot. Mr. Lester may trace the track of the car of freedom where

he pleases, but he will not be taken into the United States. If he will remain well as well as the Congress at Washington, we shall not be held down by the force of the British army, and the Government will be able to maintain its authority through the war.

Yes, it is even so. The blood of the noble founders of the nation is not taken on them?

How can I ever forget the blood of the noble founders of the nation? The principles are now for ever established and taken on them?

Yes, you have established the principles of the American Revolution and the principles of the American Constitution. Your rights are now for ever established and taken on them? The principles are now for ever established and taken on them?

Mr. Lewis, will you not with the approbation of the countrymen, take with you the Plantagenets and Tudors. These were not the halcyon days of light and liberty, such as now exist in England. But there

was even among the stern barons, and honest burghesses of those days, sufficient knowledge of human rights to make it the first business of their assemblies to demand from their kings, liberty of speech. Well did these patriarchs of freedom know that without that inestimable privilege, there can be no freedom.

And what have the Assemblies of America done for years past? They choose their speaker, and almost the next act is to ask the clerks, to look out for the gags which were left in the closet at the end of last session. In vain the honest men of Massachusetts make wry faces and complain that their jaws suffered so much from the painful process of last session, that they did not wish to put them in again. They had felt so comfortable during the vacation, having lived among their honest constituents, many of whom pitied their suffering and had authorized them to say to the House, that they disapproved of the gags.

But let us look a little closer at what is passing in the House. See that venerable man rising from his seat. His head is covered with the frost of seventy years, but his eye is not dimmed, nor his natural force abated. He holds a paper in his hand. The slaveholders rush around him. But he is unmoved. He announces that this is a petition from Massachusetts for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He is interrupted with cries of order—order—and the Chairman is ordered immediately to bring out the gags, and lay them on the table, to be ready for use, and they are brought out accordingly. What! will this man talk

to us of slavery, the pride of our country, the corner stone of our free institutions?—down with him!

In vain the venerable orator adjures them to remember that liberty of speech and right of petition are solemnly included in the constitutional bond, that right of petition was sacred, even under the most despotic governments. He has some sturdy and honest supporters, who dare call in question “the peculiar Institution” in a description of flank attacks, for few dare attack it in front. But it is all in vain.

Is not this the venerable man, who once stood at the head of his country’s government, whose early life was passed with Washington, with Franklin, with Jefferson, and with his noble minded sire. All is forgotten. He is rudely stopped. The motion is put that the gags be now inserted. It is done—every man has to open his mouth, and receive the mark of the “peculiar Institution,” and there they sit, a spectacle of joy to those who love tyranny and oppression, and of mixed indignation and pity to the lovers of freedom. The sallow visages and lantern jaws of the southern members feel no inconvenience from the operation, and the grin of their mouths, is a grin of triumph. But oh, how humbling to the sons of freedom from New England—all who are nearest to old England in her feelings and principles, have the crimson blush of shame on their cheeks, while big tears of deep and bitter indignation course down many a manly face.

Hail Columbia! land of the free!

But the process is done. "Order reigns in Warsaw." The gags are taken out, and laid on the table, not with the intention "that no action should be taken on them," but that they be put in, whenever the word slavery is mentioned—Why? because slavery would remind of liberty, and that would be inconvenient. And so the session passes, and the gags are put in, as often as they are required, under the law. And is not this a strange inconsistency, for the people's representatives to gag themselves?

If the Parliament of Canada were to be forbidden by the government to speak on certain subjects, and if a certain class of petitions should be prohibited from being received, there would be no end to the sympathy of the American people, with the sufferers under despotic power, and sure we are the Canadians would not submit to these things for a week. And what difference is there between the oppression of a king or a queen, and the oppression of a majority? "Would free Americans submit to this," says our author. We know not what they *would* submit to, in the present day, but we know what they *have* already submitted to. And what has the country done while these sad acts have been perpetrated? *Nothing*.

A few despised abolitionists, have raised their feeble but honest cry against them. But the mass of the people, Oh, could they be expected to leave the business of making money, or of losing it, for such questions as right of petition or freedom of speech—or

could the politicians give up their *patriotic pursuits* for the purpose of sustaining the great claims of liberty? Impossible! the very men who have shaped and fashioned the gags, the master carpenters, have been again returned by their constituents to pursue a system which alone seems level to their capacities. The locofocos were busy dividing the spoils, and the whigs struggling for the ascendancy, but all would rather sacrifice the constitution than lose one political vote. The whigs, it must in fairness be stated, have ever turned out the largest number for maintaining the right of petition. The fire of liberty yet burns in some of their breasts, while they who are called democrats *par excellence*, with a few exceptions, show not the slightest regard for the principles of their forefathers. And both despise and detest the honest abolitionists. And is this the effect of universal suffrage? It is even so.

When was there an instance in Britain of the people's petitions being rejected? Even the most ultra radical petitions are readily received—and the Chartists, led by a band of miscreants, who have shown that they only want plunder and bloodshed—even their petitions were received with respect. Pity the member of the British parliament who should refuse to present a petition! His face would never again be seen in St. Stephens. His political days would be for ever numbered.

The British constituency regards the right of suffrage merely as a means towards an end, and closely watches

all the measures which are brought forward in parliament. Copies of all bills are forwarded to every place which has any particular, or local interest in the matter. The people meet in wards, and corporations, and in cities and counties, and pass resolutions, all of which receive the fullest consideration in Parliament.

A gag law passed in Parliament could not last a week. Such a storm of public indignation would burst forth from every quarter—Tory, Whig and Radical—it would be all alike, and it would be swept away by the besom of destruction, and along with it every member who had sanctioned such an atrocity.

But it has been said, where is the use of petitioning, when a majority of the people appoint the representatives. Why one important object of petition is to let the weaker party be heard. How soon may that weaker party become a majority, if reason and argument are allowed to have their sway? Because a man belongs to a minority, *that* is no reason why he should lose his rights as a citizen, and that minority may be within the least shade of a majority, and yet never be heard, if the powers of a majority can be exercised in such a tyrannical manner.

Besides, many measures may be brought before the legislature which the majority of the country approve of, and which may be in jeopardy, and that majority has no mode of expressing their opinion, but by petition or memorial. Members may no doubt be *instructed* to vote in a particular way, but we regard that

practice as rather controlling the private judgment, and conscience," which should be left free, except to the influence of such arguments as may be addressed either to the house in a body, or to the members individually. When petitions and memorials are addressed to the houses of legislature, let them decide as their merits deserve. *That* is the business of the legislature. To reject these petitions or memorials, without consideration, or to make regulations that no action shall be taken on them, is entirely *ultra vires*, and strikes down one of the most important safeguards of liberty.

In Britain, the suffrage is not so widely extended as in America—above one million of the most intelligent men in the world elect the members of Parliament. That constituency contains the intellect and high moral and religious principles of Great Britain.

In America, all vote in the most populous states excepting the colored race, and the constituency care little for the measures passed, unless they affect the interests of their political party. The suffrage is the grand matter with a vast proportion—to march up to the poll, and with all the dignity of an heir apparent, deposit his vote for the man he generally knows nothing about—*that* is American liberty.

In Britain, the jealousy of freedom forbids all placemen from interfering in elections, and even deprives them of the elective franchise. In America, the retainers of government not only march up to the polls, but direct the movements of their party, and the flags

of faction are openly brought out from the government offices. In Britain no holder of office is changed with the Government, excepting a few of the high political place men. The public are served by men who have been all their lives in some particular branch of the public service, and who are promoted by seniority or superior talent. In consequence, the public business is *well* done. In America, the victors take the spoils, generally speaking, and new men are constantly brought into office, not in consequence of their fitness for it, but from the claims of political partizanship; and the public business is *not well* done.

We shall now change the scene for a short time, and ask our readers to go with us to that beautiful group of islands lying on the southeast coast of America. See that tempest driven vessel straining under the gale. The wind blows her direct on the coral reefs, and she strains every nerve to reach the harbour of the nearest of the group. The stripes and stars are at her mast head. She safely enters the port, and is boarded from the shore. What ship is that? We are the ——, from Virginia, to New Orleans, with a cargo of dry goods and other articles. What are the other articles? Before an answer can be got to this question, a number of black heads appear above the hatches. They shout, "Oh! Massa, save us, Good Massa! give us freedom. Send us ashore, and let us work." The master demands a guard to protect the

other articles of his cargo which are about to run away. The British officer informs him that his soldiers cannot be employed as jailers, that the cargo must be set free, as they are now on the soil of a British Possession, which can be trodden by none but free men. And they are set free accordingly.

Their sable countrymen crowd around them, and welcome them to the land of freedom, from which the scowl of the overseer, and lash of the driver have for ever fled. Loud are the complaints of the American slaveholders. They demand from Britain the price of blood. But they are told—"We paid you for two cargoes of human beings cast on our coasts, before slavery was entirely abolished here, rather than give up those men who were cast on our protection by that Being, whom the winds and the waves obey. But slavery is with us past and gone. These men have placed themselves under our protection. We will not give them up, neither will we pay the price." Say whether this conduct is on the side of the *shame* of England or America.

But let us change the scene, and observe that small schooner, hovering over the coast of Connecticut, which with the neighboring state, we were told received the best blood of England, when the Puritans left it. Let us again test the principles of the present generation. The vessel is suspected, and she is boarded by a United States boat. She is a coasting vessel from Cuba, with about fifty slaves, who have risen on their oppressors,

and taken their freedom. Doubtless they will be well received in a country, where the first settlers emigrated from their own land, to enjoy full liberty of conscience ; and where their immediate predecessors changed their government, on account of a stamp and tea tax. They will give them the right hand of fellowship—welcome to our arms, our friends and brethren ! Here you are safe from every harm—we will guard you from every foe, and will provide you with every supply for returning to your own land, from which you have been rudely torn.

Oh ! here lies the strange error. Republicanism is not necessarily freedom as it is supposed to be. It is not so here. Instead of being welcomed, they are thrown into prison—instead of being praised for their gallantry in achieving their freedom, they are tried as murderers. No hospitality awaits them, but all concerned rush eagerly into court to make money by the capture of these oppressed children of Africa. Once more, Hail Columbia, land of the free and brave !

But they are not left to perish. The eye of Him who never slumbers nor sleeps, is on them. He raises friends in the hour of their need. There are yet some men to be found who love justice, and can feel for the distressed. These faithful men visit the captives—they learn all the particulars of this case of matchless oppression. They appeal to the laws to shield them from a government, which would have willingly surrendered them to their Spanish oppressors, to receive such justice as

the Havana has ever awarded to the colored race. Honor to those intrepid and righteous men, who planted themselves between these poor strangers and the vindictive spirit of two powerful governments! The strangers are educated through their means, and taught the knowledge of divine truth. As with Joseph of old—what was meant for evil, has produced good.—Great and marvellous are all thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, Oh thou King of Saints!!

But the danger is yet imminent—many months are these men retained in bondage. A decision is expected, surrendering them as the property of their Spanish masters. A United States vessel is prepared with matchless promptitude, to carry them to Havana, before an appeal can be entered to a superior Court. The commanding officer humanely remonstrates, informing the Government, that the vessel could not contain so many persons below deck, and that they could not live on deck at that season of the year. He is told to obey his orders, and that is the only answer he can obtain. What folly, to think that humanity or justice were to be taken into account when dealing with black men! Oh! America, where is thy blush. Did you not declare the slave trade piracy? Is this the way you show your hatred of piracy, by surrendering to these murderers the men who had been proved at your own bar to have been kidnapped by an act of that very piracy you had so strongly denounced?

And what is "cruel and oppressive" Britain doing in the matter? Her ambassador is thundering at the doors of the Escorial, and telling the haughty Castilian that the freedom of these poor Africans had been bought by her money by solemn treaty with Spain, that not one hair of their heads must be injured, and that they must be returned to their country. She applies at Washington too, reminding the United States Government of their duty as a Christian people, of their own acts against the slave trade, and entreating them as brethren to let these oppressed men go free. The appeal is rejected, and the case again pressed against these injured persons by the ultra democratical government of Republican America.

After long delay, the day of final trial at last arrives, and who appears at the bar as the defender of these innocent men, but the intrepid and venerable Adams. For nearly forty years this distinguished man had ceased to practice as a lawyer. His time had been unceasingly devoted to the service of his country. Whether as chief magistrate or ambassador, whether pouring forth the words of wisdom in the National Assembly, or his vast store of science and general knowledge to delighted gatherings of the people, he has ever been remarkable for the soundness of his opinions, and for the high standard which he has acted up to as a public man.

All his pursuits are for the present laid aside, and he stands forth a fearless champion, to save fifty innocent men from being sacrificed on the altar of slavery, and

to save his country from the deep and ineffaceable guilt of procuring sentence of condemnation to be passed upon them.

All the rich stores of his legal knowledge, of his learning, his acuteness, his zeal, and his eloquence are brought to bear in favor of the accused, and in triumphant and indignant exposure of their government prosecutors. The event is doubtful, and the friends of humanity tremble for the result. In the midst of the proceedings, during the adjournment of the Court, a solemn scene occurs. In a moment, one of the Judges is summoned to the bar of the JUDGE of all. Oh! the awful change to that individual! He who had just left the judgment seat, and was about to determine the fate of his fellow men, is now himself at the bar of the Eternal. Say, would that Judge when sisted before the eye of the Omniscient, presume to say that he had just been weighing the fate of "chattels," "things personal," "to all intents and purposes, not persons but things?" Would he dare to use such language before the righteous Judge when speaking of his fellow men, when God has said "that he has made of one blood all that dwell on the earth?" when he has stamped his own image on man, and put all living creatures under his feet? Oh! no. In that dread presence the haughty Virgianaian, the vain Kentuckian, stand on the same level with their crushed and afflicted slaves.

The prisoners' venerable counsel made the best and most appropriate use of the striking visitation, and

doubtless an awe fell on every member of the Court. The sentence of acquittal and liberation is pronounced, and the United States Government are driven out of Court. Honor to the Court which pronounced this just sentence. It is worthy of the best times, and of the pure fountain of English law and liberty from which it emanated. When liberty has for a time been obscured in England, often have Judges and Juries redeemed the country from disgrace. And honor to the illustrious Counsel. It casts a halo over the evening of his days more bright and pure, than if he had again been chosen President of the United States. And honor to all those who stepped forward in the cause of justice and humanity. When the busy, toiling, and careworn politicians of the day are for ever laid in their graves and forgotten; when the Van Burens, the Clays and the Calhouns shall only be remembered as mere party politicians, then shall the names of Adams and of Tappan be pronounced with blessings on their head, as the friends of the human race.

The Court stepped in and saved the honor of the country. And did free Americans acquiesce in this oppression while it was transacting? Oh! yes. And what did the Press do in this emergency? Most of the public papers treated these men as murderers. None but the despised abolitionists stood by them. If the Courts had acted as the Legislature would have done, to lay the petitions on the table, "and no action to be taken on them," there was nothing to save these men, but

the thunders of the British cannon at Havana, which we doubt not, would have been heard in their behalf.

We trust the noble Cinque and his companions are now restored to the bosoms of their countrymen and their families, and that the trials they have undergone, and the important truths they have learnt, will never be effaced from their minds, but that they will aid in instructing their countrymen, by their voice and their example.

“Brothers, I am resolved, that it is better to die than be a white man’s slave, and I will not complain, if by dying I save you.”—(*Cinque to his comrades.*)

“No, no, thou never wast designed
To feel the lash, to be confined
To cotton-fields, to rice-swamps low,
Or crouch beneath a driver’s blow.

“Thy brow serene, thy steadfast eye,
Thy face of noble bearing high—
All, all exclaim, it cannot be,
That thou wast born to slavery.

“And thou hast shown by lofty deeds,
That in thine heart there lie the seeds
Of greatness, which in Washington
In times of death and peril shone.

“Yes, thou did’st call—‘Ho, brothers, die,’
For better far it were than sigh
In bondage, far from Congo’s stream,
Where wakes the sky, with beauty’s beam.

“Thou hast regained the heritage
Thy father left, and every age
Through coming time, shall speak of thee,
As one not born to slavery,”

It is truly melancholy to reflect that such scenes should be enacted in a country, where the people can put all to rights by choosing proper representatives. One great cause of the evil is, that the people are too little acquainted with the views and characters of those who are brought forward as candidates. Great benefit would be attained, if candidates would show themselves before election, and satisfy the constituency of their fitness. Many who are now sent into the public assemblies, could not stand the test of such an ordeal.

The individual returned by the nomination of caucuses of political partizans, cannot be the choice of the people, as they know nothing, or very little about them, especially those who have never been in public situations.

Even in the election of a President, the voice of the people is sometimes little felt.

The Tribune of 3d January says, "that the present system of nomination throws the election of a President almost entirely into the hands of active prominent politicians." And the editor asks—"How many of the people have ever been directly, positively felt, in any National Convention?" and adds, "in our opinion, not fifty thousand." It is well known, indeed, that President Harrison, although in our humble opinion, far the best candidate brought forward by either of the great political parties, was not the choice of the majority of the people, and that the present Chief Magistrate was never thought of by any person to fill the important office.

So it appears after all, that the sovereigns are reduced in practice to an oligarchy, not exceeding fifty thousand, and as has lately happened, an individual may come in, who would not have received a single vote.

In Britain, the candidate for Parliament meets the constituency, and is strictly questioned as to his views on public measures. The intercourse is most beneficial to all parties. They learn each other's principles, and are guided accordingly. Much misrepresentation is often removed, and great light thrown on questions of public interest. The British constituency, fairly represents, the virtue, patriotism, intelligence, and religious principle of the country. The franchise is generally exercised, after the most careful consideration of the fitness of the candidates. The American constituency contains more physical matter, but that physical matter frequently controls the real mind and intelligence of the community. In Britain, the elective franchise is considered as a means to secure good laws, and good government. In the United States, with a vast mass, it seems to be regarded as the end itself, as they let their rulers set aside the great constitutional bulwarks of freedom, and make no remonstrance, and are apparently unconscious of what is going on.

When measures unfavorable to liberty were carried through in former times, by Tory Governments in Britain, there was always a large portion of the people, whose views went ahead of their rulers, and they never

ceased their exertions, till they got the organic changes necessary to secure their rights. Here the people have the matter in their own hands, and yet they are silent. How are they to be brought up to the level of the age in which they live ?

Writers of Mr. Lester's stamp would like the British constituency to be brought down to the level of a democracy, placing the power in every large city, in the hands of ignorant Irish laborers. It is our fervent prayer that such a visitation may never afflict that country. It would add, unquestionably, considerably to the number of the constituents, but throw the patriotism and intelligence into the shade. If the laboring man were equally enlightened as others, by all means let him vote. Poverty is no crime, and his property, however small, and his life are equally precious to him, as to those of a higher grade. But it is a crime to place ignorance in the ballot-box, and to allow it to neutralize, or out-vote intelligence. It is a crime to raise up vast masses of party partizans, and allow them to throw into the shade, the virtue, and enlightened zeal of men, who really love their country, and understand her true interests.

Look at the large and flourishing State of Ohio, passing laws of unequalled severity against her citizens, for giving a night's resting place to the weary bondman running from captivity, to the shelter of the broad banner of England. Both houses of her Legislature have recently passed votes of censure on John Quincy Adams, for presenting a petition for the disso-

lution of the Union. Can such crawling creatures be called freemen? It is a delusion to think so. Humiliating spectacle! You trample in the dust, if you could, the man who defends your rights and privileges.

We know what name would be applied to the company on board a vessel which would throw over-board in a storm the man who best understood the management of the vessel.

And Ohio must crouch under the power of the slaveholder! Does she not know that because she had no bondmen within her domains, she has been so prosperous? The smile of the Most High has been on her, and her garners are filled with plenty. But let her beware. The same hand that has raised her up, can also strike her down, and lay her pride and injustice in the dust.

New York has acted a better part. Her bill, awarding jury trial to the colored man before delivering him up to his proprietor, as he calls himself, is honorable to her Legislature.* But even the empire State, when annoyed by Georgia and Virginia, is obliged to resort to legal subtleties. She does not come out at once and say, "We are free, and our soil is free, we will have no bondsmen within our borders, neither will we surrender them to you." But the constitution forbids this. We do not believe that it does. But if such be the case, the sooner the Constitution is altered, the bet-

* The late decision of the Supreme Court will, we fear, prevent the operation of this wise and equitable law.

ter. If a constitution has been framed which does not guard the sacred rights of conscience, and is inconsistent with the law of God, then let it be changed.

But the opinion is so universally felt, that all is freedom here, and that it is to be found no where else, that the inquiry is not seriously entered into. Although a man were to complain that he had been robbed, lynched, tarred and feathered, his property destroyed, and no redress given, such is the imperturbable conceit of many people, that the next moment you would see some of them, looking up to their liberty poles, and declaring that "ours is the only country in the world, where liberty dwells."

Governor Seward's last message affords a striking proof of this. In speaking of the Southern and Western Bonds which have been repudiated, he says: "Supplies of capital have ceased—the works remain unfinished—the States fail to pay interest punctually: and since punctuality is the life of credit, then credit is expiring. The error of the States has been aggravated by other circumstances. To retrieve losses, they plead a failure of consideration, or want of authority on the part of their agents, or other excuse, against bonds bearing all the forms of guarantees of public faith, and for which the authorities received and applied to public use, sums deemed equivalent. It is known throughout the world, and to none better than to capitalists, that the people exercise absolute control over legislation, and it is doubted whether they will have

the virtue to maintain public credit under the inconvenience of taxation. When we ourselves admit such apprehensions, can we be surprised that they should be entertained in countries where it is a maxim that mankind must be governed by fraud or force?"

Now here is an exhibition from a good and enlightened man of that perfect self-complacency, which seems peculiar to the country. While discussing a case of the most gross fraud ever attempted to be practiced, a favorable contrast is sought to be drawn between this country and others. Why, the debt is owing chiefly to Britain, and neither fraud nor force are the rule and practice of her government. But BOTH FRAUD AND FORCE are thrown into the scale against the unfortunate holders of Mississippi, Illinois and Indiana bonds:—*fraud*, pretending that they are illegal; *force*, because the power of the States is opposed to the claims of private individuals. We know not what could be produced from the institutions of any country of a worse character than the institutions of the United States have produced of late years.

We have shown what has become of freedom of speech in those halls where it should ever be most free. We have seen what has become of the right of petition. We may next inquire if the press is free. There is no regular censorship on it as in France. It escaped the deadly blow aimed at it by the slaveholders, when a censorship of hundreds of post-masters was proposed

to be established. But we have had presses destroyed, and public meetings of respectable people to put down the press. Lately a gentleman was seized at Maryland, for wishing to report the proceedings of a Convention of slaveholders. See how instinctively these men dread the light. If all was right, would they not rejoice at the publication of their proceedings? But no sooner was it known that a reporter was in the house, than he was apprehended and cast into prison. Has the north nothing to do with slavery? See how its encroachments go on, until they shall have absorbed the last remaining rights of the country.

Is the press in the north possessed with the spirit of freedom, and yet did not resent this atrocious attack? Impossible. The mass of the papers either did not notice it at all, or did so without remark. This Convention of slaveholders, who have framed resolutions still farther to protect "the peculiar institution," and to drive the free colored population from the State, is a novelty. Would it begin and close its proceedings with prayer? They must have been such prayers as never before ascended to the throne of the Most High. We wonder if other Conventions will follow, and hope they will. When face answereth to face, they must tremble when they look on each other, assembled for such a purpose, and near the middle of the nineteenth century, too.

Talk to the editors of our newspapers, and every man will say they hate slavery as much as you do, and

yet, with few exceptions, they say nothing against it, because their interest with their Southern readers is at stake. If they had only thundered against this unhallowed system as they would do in a matter of personal gain, it would long ago have been overturned.

What freedom can exist in any assembly where a member shall dare to stand up and say, that if people of certain views came into his State they would be hanged, and another member threaten to cut the throat of his neighbor from ear to ear, if he spoke on a certain subject. And yet there is no symptom of disgust with the mass of the people. No meeting called to remonstrate against such proceedings. Some of these very men have been since received in public with every mark of approbation. The spirit of freedom, we fear, is buried with Washington, or these miscreants would have been expelled from the House.

The trial by jury remains to the country, and that is an invaluable blessing. But trials occupy so much time as they are now managed, that the men whose services are most valuable, shrink from the duty of a jurymen. This evil should be corrected. Yet jury trial is, under any circumstances, an invaluable institution, and so long as it remains to the country, there is hope.

But it is not the absence of free expression in the halls and in the press, that we have alone to deplore. The very pulpit is infected with the leprosy. Listen to that pious divine pouring out his soul in prayers to

God for the heathen. How earnestly he longs for their salvation, that they may be all brought within the fold of the good and gracious Shepherd! See these missionaries solemnly devoted to carry the gospel to Syria, to Hindostan and China. The clergymen in their addresses take a wide range over the whole heathen world. But do they ever even notice that there is a place on the face of the earth, where the inhabitants are prohibited from learning to read; that it is in this very country, par excellence, styled the seat of freedom? Oh! the unutterable baseness of those laws! Is it not enough that the colored race has been for generations crushed to the ground as wretched slaves? Must their souls also be held in bondage to the prince of darkness? Surely this is the cope-stone of human tyranny. The very hope of a better world, which, as a bright star in the distance, might cheer the slave through his dark and dismal career; even of that he must be deprived by his cruel oppressor.

But the Constitution forbids interference with slavery. Does the constitution of China not forbid interference with the religion of Confucius? Do the laws of Mahomet not forbid the profession of all religions but his own? And yet these constitutions are entirely overlooked; and your missionaries make inroads on them from every side. In this you do well and nobly. But the Constitution of the United States cannot be touched—its immaculate purity, forsooth, must not be questioned! Its merits dare not even be discussed in

the legislative assembly without dishonor being cast upon the speaker. Why should the only "free spot on God's green earth" be the very spot where it is not safe to discuss *any public question*. Discussion is ever courted where there is real freedom. The arch is not more surely tested by the weight which is placed on it, than are free institutions by the most unlimited range of discussion.

But we must not even breathe a whisper, when public prayers are addressed to God about the horrors of the "peculiar institution." A few despised clergymen, chiefly of the more humble class, venture to do so, but how small is the number. How long will the ministers of religion pursue this course? How long will they refrain from lifting up their voices to heaven in behalf of the bondmen? There is no use in doing so, says one. Slavery is not a sin, *per se*, but only an *evil*, says another. I expect to inherit a property, with a supply of souls and bodies, says a third. I am *afraid*, says a fourth. And thus is the cause of truth and righteousness sacrificed.

Mr. Adams has been censured for presenting a petition praying for the dissolution of the Union. How often have the efforts of the Irish agitator, O'Connell, produced petitions for the dissolution of the union of Britain and Ireland, and yet has any censure been proposed, or any obstacle been thrown in the way of their presentation and due consideration? And yet Britain has lost all vestige of freedom, and America is the only

“green spot,” &c. This dissolution is a favorite object with the author of “The Shame and Glory of England.” But well does O’Connell know that it cannot be accomplished. Even he does not wish it—but it keeps up the agitation and fills his pockets.

We think O’Connell loves his country too well to wish such a change, as Ireland would be by far the heaviest sufferer by it. Ireland pays little more than the interest of her national debt, while the expenses of her government are almost entirely paid by Britain. A dissolution of the Union would roll that debt, and all the expenses of her government on her own head. Under the influence of good advice from this side of the Atlantic, she might soon rid herself of the first obligation. Only Britain would not allow such an arrangement, as she is guarantee for its payment. Many reasons might be given why this dissolution can never take place. But they are foreign to our present purpose.

We have said that liberty consists of three stages: First, national independence. Second, the possession of individual rights. We have shown that liberty of speech, right of petition, a free press, and trial by jury, are necessary to the maintenance of individual liberty. Britain has every one of these to the full. America has, for the present, lost the first two, and the third she enjoys *practically* to a *very* limited extent. The fourth is the only one she enjoys in full. There is another important privilege she does not fully enjoy.

viz. locomotion. If a man who holds abolition principles goes into the south, he runs great risk of losing his life, and unless imperatively called to go there by a sense of duty, an immense part of the Union is shut out to the citizen of America, who is ever boasting of his freedom. It is a restriction on a par with the law of Republican Greece, which forbade all commercial intercourse, and even intermarriages between the inhabitants of the different states. Locomotion is literally denied to the colored race, who cannot enter a railroad car without the risk of being summarily ejected.

But our author says, the parliament of Britain never conceded what are considered in America "inalienable rights." We ask what are inalienable rights, if these invaluable privileges are not in the number. These are indeed what all the lovers of freedom consider "inalienable rights," and yet a majority of them have been surrendered in America, without even a struggle. This empire "that could not be conquered," has fallen without a struggle, by men appointed by the people themselves.

The third grand stage of freedom is, when the law of love takes possession of a country and government, and they desire to see every blessing which they enjoy extended to their fellow men, in every country and clime. We have said that this love does not show itself in forcing institutions on other countries; far less in silly attachment to universal suffrage, annual parliament, and vote by ballot. These, or such institutions it

is only desirous of adopting, to secure the triumph of equal law, the protection of life and property, the scrupulous guarding of the rights of the weakest, as well as the strongest, the universal progress of light, of science, and true religion.

This spirit was in former times occasionally exhibited by England, in the protection afforded by Elizabeth, and her immediate successors, to the French, German, and Dutch Protestants, and it was nobly returned by the latter, when liberty of conscience was struck down by the tyrannical and foolish Stuarts. But the spirit has now burst forth in Britain, with a brilliancy that astonishes the world. The liberation of her 800,000 West India slaves, at an expense of one hundred millions of dollars, is the greatest act of justice and humanity that has ever been witnessed. They were British subjects no doubt, but they were placed at a distance of some thousands of miles from the mother country. No petition came up from them. If they had been presented they would have been respectfully received. But the slaveholders might have severely visited such a proceeding. The people of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland stood forth in their behalf. The press, *the free press*, labored incessantly in their cause, and the day of their release from bondage at length arrived.

Acts of ardent love and kindness, from the pure source of Christianity have been practised by individuals in modern times. A Howard has visited the pesti-

lential prison, and died in the noble cause of alleviating the miseries of the human race. Elliot and Brainerd passed their lives and devoted their energies to the conversion of the Indians of America. Krantz carried the rose of Sharon to the inhospitable deserts of Iceland. But when has a nation done an act of pure justice and mercy prompted by no other monitor than the admonitions of an enlightened conscience? When all those glories which attract so much of the world's notice are forgotten, when Waterloo and Trafalgar are only remembered as arenas, where wholesale destruction was perpetuated by man on his fellow-man, then shall the noble act of emancipation stand out in bold relief in the dark picture of this world's history, which is but a history of pride, selfishness and crime.

But Britain did not stop with this act of justice. Deep was the stain on her escutcheon, and deep and sincere was her repentance, for being so long engaged in the miseries and in the profits of the atrocious trade in slaves. Britain having in 1807 abolished the trade, as far as she was concerned, after the peace of 1815 arrived, it became one of her most important objects to accomplish its entire destruction. Spain and Portugal were deeply engaged in it. Who does not know what Britain did for these countries in the late war? When the struggle was over she addressed them thus, "You owe every thing to us. Your national existence would have disappeared in the continental struggle with the tyrant of the world, but for our appearance in your

country, and our immense expenditure of life and treasure in your cause. We ask nothing for ourselves. We leave you free of all debt or obligation. We have either received payment from the other continental sovereigns for the money we lent them, or compounded with them. From you we ask nothing. But in the name of our common humanity, in the name of that God whom we all profess to adore, we ask you to join us in repentance for the injuries we have done to the African race, and to stay your hands from the accursed traffic."

The Spaniards and Portuguese pleaded the lucrative nature of the trade. They pleaded their poverty. As to their consciences, their priests kept them, and they were not uneasy; and they refused or delayed to comply with the righteous and noble request. And what did Britain do? What did "cruel and oppressive" Britain do? She said—"We thought the claims of gratitude might have induced compliance with our request. But it is ever so. We waive them. We will buy the suppression of the trade, and to save our fellow creatures from the man stealer, from the horrors of the middle passage, and the survivors from interminable bondage, we will pay the price." And with all her debt and with all her burdens, she paid these Spanish and Portuguese marauders six millions of dollars. The money was paid, but have the terms been faithfully complied with. Let Havana tell, where thousands of slaves have been every year imported, notwithstanding that *this* treaty was completed in 1820.

Now what has free America done in this great cause? She too abolished the slave trade in 1807—and what have been her measures to make that abolition effectual? More than twenty years ago she declared that trade piracy, and her messengers went on the wings of the wind to all the European powers, entreating them to join in their crusade against slavery.

The nations were astonished. The friends of liberty rejoiced over such a proposal, and hailed with delight the fact, that a republic had at last appeared favorable to the freedom of others. A treaty was drawn up at Washington and forwarded to Britain, containing mutual arrangements for accomplishing this great and good work. The British Government eagerly signed this treaty. It was returned to Washington, ratified by the President, but the Senate rendered it a dead letter by their alterations.

Britain has never ceased to urge upon the United States Government, the necessity of this measure being carried into effect—a measure proposed and drawn up by themselves. She has conjured and entreated them by the common origin of the countries, by the mutual guilt they have contracted, by their common faith, and by that advancing light which is diffusing its beams over the world, to join them in destroying this atrocious traffic; but the last assurance she has received is, that no steps can ever be taken in the business, in the way of joint action, and that all farther application is useless. The trade is known to be chiefly carried on unde

the United States flag. No doubt it is sometimes noticed in a President's message, and there is an agent on the coast of Africa for slaves liberated *by the United States vessels*. Unquestionably the official duties of this gentleman must be arduous indeed! Who ever heard of a slaver being captured by an American vessel? So far from this, every obstacle is thrown in the way of Britain's noble course, by America. Even now are they trying to make a ground of quarrel for slaves being seized under the American flag.

But they can't understand in this country, why Britain should take so much trouble, in protecting these poor Africans, as they can divine no selfish motive in the case. Certainly not, they can't understand it. But the old governments of Europe, whom they are for ever traducing, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, with all their sins, can understand it, and along with Britain have conceded the right of search for men stealers.* But they can understand it, when they are pursuing the British government for their "pound of flesh" when an overruling Providence has cast some of their vessels on the coasts of British settlements. And when the noble *Cinque* was cast on their shores, the ultra democratical government of Van Buren could not understand why they should imitate the British government, and rather pay the price than give them up. But this

* France has not ratified the last treaty, but this refusal does not invalidate a former treaty, conceding the right of search in certain latitudes.

is easily explained, the one was receiving payment and the other paying—and there lies the difference.

But Britain must be destroyed, because she can no longer breast herself up against the advancement of humanity, “charity, virtue and happiness, these are English words still, but their meaning seems to have settled in America.” Where we ask is that humanity, where that charity, which is love to our fellow men, where the virtue, and the happiness? Is the charity to be found in your conduct to the two millions and a half of slaves, who are bought, sold, invoiced, mortgaged, drawn upon, and treated as chattles? Is it in your treatment of the Indians that you lay claim to this distinction?

The virtue and the happiness are of course with the slaves, who are kept in the enviable situation of not knowing right from wrong.

Many of these unhappy people are the children of those who sit in high places. And yet you dare not plead for them in the house of legislation, for your representatives are gagged. You dare not lift up your voice for them in your state assemblies, for you might be hissed out, or have the bowie knife plunged in your breast. You dare not petition for them, for your petition would be tossed over the table with contempt, or laid on the “table, and no action taken on it.” You dare not pray for them in the house of God, for the minister might lose nine tenths of his hearers, and the world, before duty seems the guide of the reverend the

clergy here. But one thing we cannot be prevented doing—we can yet in secret, and at the family altar, send up our prayers to Heaven's throne, for the oppressed and persecuted. No obstacle is interposed by Him who weighs the "nations in scales, and the hills in a balance." Wherever there is a devout and a humble heart, there is an attentive ear, and a present God.

But Britain must be destroyed. Is it because she employs her war ships, for the first time in the history of the world, not in gratifying feelings of ill will and revenge, and in dealing destruction to her fellows, but in breaking the chains of the oppressed, and setting the prisoners free? Is it because she appeared in her might at Navarino, when the infant liberties of Greece were about to be crushed, and drove the Turk for ever from those classic regions? Is it because she stretched out her protecting arm, and bid the Syrian follower of Mahomet stay his hand, when it oppressed the ancient people of God? Is it because she has sent her ships, and her enlightened men to Africa, to carry knowledge, and civilization, and for ever to bind up the wounds of that afflicted region? Is it because she is raising up countless millions in India to the enjoyment of industry, commerce, knowledge, and above all of true religion? If a nation falls when so employed, it will be new in the history of our fallen race.

And America, where charity, virtue and happiness have taken up their abode, what is she doing? Shade

of Washington! how is she employed? Straining every nerve to break down the spirit of the few who dare to stand up for their rights. Quarrelling with Britain for the "pound of flesh" of another cargo of chattels just gone to the land of freedom; threatening war for the seizure of slave vessels, declared to be piracy by her own laws; Louisiana controlling Ohio, and making her bend under her influence, and protecting slavery by her laws and by her avowed hatred of freedom; Maryland struggling to add new horrors to the abodes of slavery; Georgia and Virginia bullying New York; But even New York herself, destroying a just and true bill for preserving the purity of election. Precious exhibition of charity, virtue and happiness!

And is she doing any thing in her foreign policy to throw one redeeming trait into the darkness of this picture? If she is, or has ever done so—let it be told, for history is silent on it. Has she showed any desire to enter the third stage of freedom? Oh! it would be refreshing to find some little, some very little relief in favor of liberty in the "only green spot of God's earth where liberty dwells."

Wherever liberty has lifted up its standard since the close of the war in 1815, whether in Spain, in Portugal, or in Greece, there British subjects have been found in the foremost ranks, among the friends of freedom. It is the *British legion*, that has ever given the deadliest blow to tyranny.

When the United States raised the standard of na-

tional independence, Lafayette and his gallant band of Frenchmen rushed to their aid, and nobly contended, side by side, in a foreign land, till the object was accomplished. When France was surrounded by foreign arms, and her newly acquired liberties were threatened with destruction, did she receive aid from America, who owed her so much? The *American Legion* may have been there, but we never heard of it. The generation of men who gained the independence of America, were yet in their vigour, when the French revolution broke out, but we never heard of one American who lifted an arm in payment of the inestimable obligation that France had laid her under. Many struggles for freedom have since been made but whoever heard of a native of the only "green spot" being engaged in them?

Britain must be destroyed. Oh! if it were so, where would the world look for a friend to help the persecuted and distressed, and where would liberty find a refuge? Would it be in France? Let the silence of the gagged press be the ominous reply. Is it in Germany? Let the broken promises of Prussia in the hour of her calamity, be the answer. Is it in Russia, let Poland speak. But we must not be too hard on Russia, for even *there* the liberty of petition is held sacred.

But it seems Britian dreads the rivalry of the United States, more than any other competitor. Rival Britain! would to God she would rival her, none would hail such an event with so much joy as Britian. But America

must raise her moral standard immeasurably higher, before she can hope to rival her father land.

Britain, old in years, but young in moral and intellectual vigour, is braking the chains of the world. Her counsels have lately produced the most extraordinary document of modern times, a charter of free religious opinion by the descendant of the False Prophet. Even now, two mighty Continents stretch out their arms to Britain and welcome their deliverers. The Black Sons of Africa, and the sallow Asiatics, have already tasted of their blessings from her hand, which no other people ever thought of bestowing on them, and now they look with eager delight, to the time which is just at hand, that will place them on the same level with the most civilized nations of the earth.

In America, two millions and a half of her native-born inhabitants raise their supplicating eyes to heaven, and ask if their bondage is to be everlasting, while the chains are dropping off in every country and in every clime.

Rival Britain! Yes, you might rival her in doing good, and that would be a sight to make good men weep tears of joy, and angels look down with approbation from their glorious abodes. Your missionaries rival hers in converting men to God; and why will you not rival her in breaking the chains of cruelty and oppression?

To see the Union Jack and the Stripes and Stars careering in company over the deep, in the track of the

man-stealer, and rivalling each other who should be the first on board to announce the tidings of freedom and safety to their miserable cargo ; that would be a noble emulation, worthy of your common origin.

Will that day ever come? There is at present small appearance of it, but we still have hopes of this country, because the people are mostly of British origin. It cannot be, that those principles of freedom which their noble parent is sending to the most distant parts of the earth, can find no sympathy among her descendants. Already there is a speck in the west, giving promise of a brighter day.* Soon, we trust, will her orators convert the fulsome note of flattery into one of bitter and indignant remonstrance, for the loss of the rights bequeathed to them by their fathers, and of firm and indignant demand, that this country shall adapt her institutions to the present advanced stage of the civilized world.

* Meeting at Rochester approving of Mr. Adams' conduct.

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